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**20 August 1984**

# **East Europe Report**

**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

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20 August 1984

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CSSR'S KORCAK ADDRESSES RALLY IN SZCZECIN

AU251316 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Jul 84 p 7

[Speech by Josef Korcak, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, CSSR deputy premier, and premier of the Czech Socialist Republic, delivered at the celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of the emergence of People's Poland in Szczecin on 23 July]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted in which Korcak thanks his Polish hosts for their hospitality and expresses appreciation for Poland's achievements in the past 40 years] The mutually beneficial Czechoslovak-Polish cooperation contributes to progress in all spheres of our social life. The strengthening of relations between the CPCZ and the PZPR is the guarantee of its development. On the basis of the talks conducted last year by Comrades Gustav Husak and Wojciech Jaruzelski, there has been a further expansion of mutual cooperation, particularly in the economic sphere.

This year, the value of the exchange of goods between our two countries will reach R1.8 billion--a record in the entire 40 postwar years. It is pleasing that progress is being made in production specialization and cooperation. We are not standing still in the cultural sphere either. The recent Days of Polish Culture in our fatherland have contributed to a more profound knowledge of the wealth of Polish cultural life. [passage omitted on the importance of the Port of Szczecin for the CSSR]

We regard our mutual relations to be a concrete manifestation of Czechoslovak-Polish friendship, born in the distant past and reinforced on the battlefields of World War II. I would like to express the conviction that we will never defalcate that legacy, that we will strengthen and continue to develop the alliance and all-round cooperation between the CSSR and the Polish People's Republic. Only in the unity of the socialist countries, in firm cohesion with the Soviet Union, can we jointly build and defend socialism, live within secure borders without having to worry about our state and national existence, and have security and future prospects for ourselves and the coming generations.

We well know that we are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the emergence of the Polish People's Republic after a complex period of crisis has been overcome. We, too, in our country, have been following with interest and concern the struggle of the PZPR and of all true Polish patriots to overcome their

accumulated problems, create favorable conditions for the development of socialist society and the strengthening of people's power. We too, have experienced a crisis development in the CPCZ and society in the 1968-69 period, when our enemies at home and abroad tried to misuse the endeavor aimed at rectifying errors in order to cause the socialist society to disintegrate, and to dismantle revolutionary accomplishments. The reaction did not succeed in realizing these plans thanks to the resolute stance of the Marxist-Leninist forces in our country, and the international assistance of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

There are forces in the West that do not want to reconcile themselves to the objective laws of history. Also the situation in Poland convincingly attests to that. We sincerely rejoice over the fact that the Polish people, led by the PZPR, have successfully defended socialism, thus also preserving the firm foundations of our relations. We, in the CSSR, rejoice over your successes. You can always count on our support for your efforts for the further development of socialist Poland. Also the results of the recent elections to People's Councils, in which the decisive majority of Polish citizens expressed their faith in the policy of the Polish party and state leadership, headed by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, whom the Czechoslovak people hold in esteem as a true patriot and internationalist, were the confirmation of the correctness of your path.

Comrades, the Czechoslovak people, too, are preparing to celebrate with dignity the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the glorious Soviet Army. A mass movement of work initiative and socialist competition is developing throughout our country in honor of this historic event. Its main purpose is the best possible fulfilment of the tasks of the economic and social development of our socialist fatherland, determined by the 16th CPCZ Congress. The present entrusts us with exacting tasks. Only the path of intensive development, scientific-technical progress, thrifty utilization of resources, and high quality products leads forward. We are orienting ourselves toward a planned utilization of all advantages of socialism for the benefit of maintaining and further improving the working people's standard of living.

We proceed from the fact that a successful resolution of all these goals is possible only in close cooperation with the other socialist countries. We fully support the conclusions of the recent CEMA summit in Moscow, are elaborating them into concrete measures, and will see to their consistent fulfillment.

A resolute approach to the solution of issues concerning the mutual economic cooperation of the socialist countries, to increasing their economic strength, and achieving independence from the capitalist states is of particular urgency in view of the unfavorable development of the international situation. We do not want to isolate ourselves from the rest of the world, we are in favor of developing relations with all countries, but only provided that the principles of equality and mutual advantage are observed. Experience teaches us

that representatives of some developed capitalist countries see in economic cooperation an instrument for interfering in our internal affairs, an instrument of political blackmail, for threatening our independence and the very foundations of the socialist society.

The fact that today--almost four decades after Hitlerite fascism was smashed--international tension has again escalated, cannot leave any one of us indifferent. The current development shows that imperialism would dearly like to erase the results of World War II from history. Its most reactionary circles, at present represented by the Reagan government in particular, are again declaring a crusade against communism as their program, and are striving to achieve unilateral military-strategic superiority.

They do not shy away from any means to realize their objectives. It is no coincidence that thanks to their benignancy a wave of revanchism, particularly in the FRG, has been revived of late. Posthumous children of the Hitlerite Empire are still dreaming about the possibility of changing the postwar order in Europe. We are strong enough not to give them a chance.

A particularly dangerous situation has begun developing on our continent following the deployment of new American intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe. We cannot indifferently ignore the fact that these deadly weapons are in combat readiness several dozen kilometers from our western border. Therefore the Soviet Union and other member-states of the Warsaw Pact had to undertake retaliatory measures.

Although very difficult problems have accumulated in the world, we are convinced that the progressive and democratic forces are capable of changing the development of events, that even the most important issues are solvable. The initiative-filled proposals of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries show the way from a policy of confrontation to a policy of negotiations and common sense. Our optimism stems from the awareness of the extensive potential of the forces of peace, capable of thwarting the plans of the militant circles of imperialism. There is the economic and defensive might of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community. There is the international communist movement. There is the new, as regards its massive size, unprecedented antiwar movement. There are the anti-imperialist forces of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. There also are the realistically thinking officials in the capitalist countries. Together we are stronger than ever before. This confirms our belief that we will avert the threat of war, and that peace will be preserved.

Esteemed comrades, dear Polish friends! We wish you much success in your work for the benefit of your socialist fatherland and a happy future of the Polish nation.

May the friendship and cooperation of the people of our countries further develop, may the unity and the cohesion of the socialist community strengthen!

Long live socialism and peace!



ECONOMIC, POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH THIRD WORLD DETAILED

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 17 No 17, Jul 84 p 23

[Article by Ralf Schaarschmidt: "Traditional and New Forms of Economic Cooperation"]

[Text] True to its anti-imperialist alliance policy, anchored in its constitution, the GDR--during its 25 years of existence--has always paid great attention to developing and strengthening equitable relations with developing countries.

The GDR proceeds from the premise that economic relations with the developing countries on the one hand receive considerable momentum from the continually growing economic power of the socialist countries, and on the other hand, that they in turn are a factor of this economic growth. This reciprocal relationship rests on the basic principles of trade and economic relations applied between the GDR and the developing countries; particularly the principles of sovereign equality of states, equal rights, and mutual advantage.

Economic Agreements with 63 Developing Countries

Above all, the existing system of economic and scientific technical agreements with the developing countries at government level serves to implement these trade policy principles. Between the GDR and 63 developing countries there exist economic treaties which are predominantly of a long-term nature. They comprise bilateral trade agreements with 62 developing countries, 26 agreements with 23 countries in economic, industrial and technical cooperation, and 29 agreements with 26 countries on scientific technical cooperation. This is in accordance with the objective tendency of developing more and more the exchange of goods as a strong component of a complex economic and scientific technical cooperation. Joint economic commissions, established with 15 countries, have also proven successful, and so have more than 20 mixed committees or mixed commissions, respectively, which meet regularly with the governments of the most important partner countries. On the basis of the above-mentioned trade policy principles and activities, foreign trade with developing countries managed to grow steadily. From 1949, the founding year of the GDR, to 1970, foreign trade with this group of countries increased more than 190 times. Between 1970 and 1980, the growth rate was 358 percent (at prices effective at

the time). During the second half of the 70's, trade between the GDR and developing countries was especially dynamic. The annual growth rate, always compared to the previous year, amounted to 11.6 percent in 1978, 12.8 percent in 1979, and even 29.3 percent in 1980. The greatest trade increases were reached with those developing countries oriented toward a socialist road of development.

#### Export and Import Pattern

With regard to the range of goods exported by the GDR to developing countries, installations, equipment, individual machines, and products of electro-technology and electronics dominate. Their share of total exports is about 70 percent. This high percentage of products by the metal-working industry corresponds to the considerable demand for capital goods of the developing countries, as well as to the capabilities of the GDR as a developed industrial country.

GDR imports from developing countries are still largely traditional national products of the agrarian and raw material sectors, which are often of great economic significance for the GDR, a country with few raw materials. To an increasing extent, the GDR also imports semi-finished and finished products of their young industries. The share of semi-finished and finished products imported by the GDR from developing countries rose from 24 percent in 1973 to approximately 40 percent at present. In this way, the GDR also supports their process of industrialization. Since 1955, the GDR has built more than 800 industrial complexes in developing countries, among them complete installations such as 20 chemical plants, more than 70 transformer stations, over 40 oxygen plants, 30 printing shops for books and magazines, respectively, as well as textile plants, complete training centers, various installations of the cement and metallurgical industries, and many other individual installations.

#### Practical Training and Support

Together with the delivery of large industrial plants, and in accordance with special government agreements, the GDR has sent numerous experts to developing countries who provide direct practical instruction and support. The total number of GDR experts who have been active in developing countries, up to now, exceeds 20,000.

Furthermore, at the beginning of 1983, almost 30,000 citizens from developing countries were living in the GDR for the purpose of vocational training or continued education in various branches of industry, mining, agriculture, adult education, health care, and in the field of planning and directing economic processes. The total number of citizens from developing countries who successfully concluded their professional training in the GDR between 1970 and 1983, amounts to more than 54,000.

Due to the effects of the cyclical capitalist world economic crisis, which started in 1980, the economic situation of most developing countries has

deteriorated noticeably since 1982. Their economic growth rate in 1982 and 1983 showed the lowest real gains of the last two decades. 1984, also, does not promise any substantial improvement.

The balance of payments situation of many developing countries has become extraordinarily critical as a consequence of the capitalist world economic crisis, and the policy of confrontation and high interest rates under the Reagan administration.

In the declaration of the CEMA member states, "Preservation of peace and international economic cooperation," it says on this point: "The overwhelming majority of developing countries has run into an especially difficult situation. The Imperialist countries, by applying all types of political and economic pressure, pass the burdens of the world economic crisis on to the people of these countries, further increase their neo-colonial exploitation, and endeavor to create conditions favoring the intrusion of foreign capital, especially transnational monopolies, into the economy of these countries."

Total indebtedness of developing countries has doubled within 3 years and, according to World Bank data, amounted to more than \$800 billion by the end of 1983. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) predicts an increase of indebtedness by 17 to 20 percent for 1984.

The shifting of essential effects of the crisis from the imperialist countries to the developing countries forced the latter to apply restrictions which, in part, also impaired their commercial activities vis-a-vis the GDR. However, this does not preclude a continued positive development with a number of countries.

#### Adaptation to Changed Market Conditions

Overall, external conditions in the trade with developing countries have become more complicated, are subject to rapid changes, and develop in a very differentiated manner with the various countries.

The GDR must take into account more strongly this situation, in order to continue to have progressive trade and economic relations with the developing countries. This requires great flexibility, considering the altered and rapidly changing market conditions. Export and import patterns must be adapted dynamically to the real requirements and possibilities of the individual markets. Since the developing countries continue to be lucrative markets, but with their absorption capacity largely limited at present by the strongly reduced demand (which can be paid for), certain commercial transactions, such as barter deals, are gaining in importance.

Present conditions call for combining closely the traditional exchange of goods with other forms of economic cooperation, which are internationally characterized by great dynamics. This refers particularly to:

- increased trade of intangible services, including training;
- reconstruction, rationalization, and modernization of existing plants and equipment with high utilization for individual developing countries;



- construction of assembly plants in selected developing countries;
- production cooperation with efficient national firms in developing countries;
- cooperation with third countries, especially CEMA states, in developing countries (for example, in exporting plants and carrying out construction and assembly performances);
- strengthening of consultation activity through specialized consulting firms.

These new forms of economic cooperation offer additional perspectives for further expansion of the economic relations between the GDR and developing countries, based on equal rights and mutual benefit.

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CSO: 2300/570

## IDEOLOGICAL WARFARE 'ESSENTIAL' TO SOCIALISM

Budapest IFJU KOMMUNISTA in Hungarian No 5, 1984 pp 5-8

[Article by Tibor Illes, subdepartment head of the MSZMP Central Committee, titled: "Ideological Warfare in the Past and Present Tense"]

[Text] The dissemination and clashing of various ideologies, reflecting well-defined political and social interests, is a historical fact that dates back to antiquity. In every age, naturally, the instruments and outward appearances of these ideologies were determined by existing circumstances and by the relationship between existing interest groups. Thus, the Macedonian Alexander the Great, in order to spread the ideas of Pan-Hellenism, employed, to use a modern word, "propaganda" in his foreign policy. The Crusades, too, attest to the fact that ideologies, while serving on the one hand as the basis for creating international coalitions, are destined on the other for the winning over of conquered populations. Also, most diverse forms of ideological means of persuasion were used in the subjugation of the American Continent's native populations.

History proves that the significance of ideologies comes to the forefront during revolutionary situations when revolution-inspiring ideas spill over into other countries and regions quite rapidly because of the identical social problems shared by those countries. At such times the government of the country (or countries), which tries to keep away from ideological "contamination," endeavors to suppress the revolutionary idea. The country experiencing the revolution, on the other hand, is interested in creating a favorable international atmosphere for itself by spreading its ideas. This is exemplified by the European bourgeois revolutions of the 18th century. The French Revolution eliminated absolutism; the ideas of the Enlightenment, which proclaimed and demanded the transformation of society, generated revolutionary thinking and activity in many countries, even threatening those countries' conservative bastions with physical harm. Having at his disposal an advanced printing industry (press, books, leaflets, manifestos) with potentially large-scale production, Napoleon also used his revolutionary ideas against his enemies.

In the course of history communist and labor parties have always regarded ideological warfare as an integral part of the class struggle: armed with the revolutionary theory of scientific Marxism-Leninism, these parties have struggled, and are struggling, against bourgeois views.

Socialism, above all the appearance of the organized proletarian state in the political arena, has changed the complexion of international relations in their very foundations. Previously, the international scene was characterized by the clashing of alliances that were led by homogeneous ruling (expropriating) classes, representing conflicting interests. The two basic classes, or rather the class struggle between the capitalist and working classes has forced its way onto the international stage in our age as well. The struggle is equally in progress on the economic and ideological fronts. The essence of ideological warfare in its simplest terms is that various countries strive to draw away larger and larger masses from the ideological influence of their enemies, which is to say, they try to spread the influence of their own ideologies over those same masses.

The organized and conscious direction of propaganda into foreign lands has been a typical foreign policy activity of countries for the past decades. Depending on its timeliness, the primary purpose of such propaganda is to influence and to create political opinion in other countries. This is why the ideas, methods, styles, instruments, as well as the public's evaluation of all these aspects of international propaganda have become the focus of ideological warfare. A basic question is how the opposing halves view and how they practice ideological warfare.

We strive to reflect the objective reality in ideological warfare. We fight our ideological warfare for the betterment, not the deterioration of international relations. We maintain that a socialist country cannot pursue a two-faced foreign policy or, consequently, a "Janus-faced" propaganda. According to Marxist political philosophy, the basic function of propaganda is to help the thinking citizenry find fulfillment.

Bourgeois politicians define propaganda--and thus, propaganda intended for foreign consumption--as the dissemination of ideologically systematized thoughts. This theory hides the practice whereby propaganda stimulates members of society, or societies, to activities which serve the purposes of special interests. That is to say, propaganda, in the hands of the capitalist class, is a tool of manipulating human behavior.

Therefore, the difference between the two ideologies, as regards their perception of propaganda, is substantive.

Always, in accordance with timely political needs, the strategic goals and plans of antisocialist propaganda campaigns are worked out in the top political leaderships' "braintrusts." Here they map out anticommunist political strategies and tactics appropriate for changing circumstances. The propaganda system's "middle levels" (scholarly workshops, periodicals) then disseminate the polished product, and finally the mass media, with its powerful personnel and technical apparatus, stands ready to serve with the widest range of propaganda activities, including, if everything else fails, disinformation. A substantial part of these activities is the "working over" of the intended country or a specific stratum of that country, such as its youth.



The main direction of the enemy's propaganda policies has been, and still is, the strategic goal of weakening, repelling and, in the final analysis, annihilating socialism.

From time to time, however, the tactics of bourgeois propaganda have adapted themselves to changing historical circumstances and to the supposed or real status of the balance of powers. Ideologically speaking, these tactics can be traced continuously in anticommunist and anti-Soviet propaganda. Their concrete forms and methods have varied within rather large limits, from being quite moderate to sounding openly aggressive and provocative.

In its battle against the fledgling proletarian state, during its first, post-1917 phase, anticommunist politics combined military intervention and economic blockade with an ideological campaign that served the purposes of those who wished to annihilate the new state in its infancy.

After World War II, when extremist imperialistic political circles subordinated their foreign policy and ideological activities to anti-socialist and anti-Soviet goals, the ideological war between the two social systems and the onset of the cold war became one and the same. This era was characterized by aspirations to "contain" and to "drive back" communism.

In the sixties, as a result of the shift in the balance of powers in favor of socialism, there occurred a change in the struggle and in the forms of competition between states belonging to the two systems. The easing of tensions and the politics of peaceful coexistence also influenced the forms, methods and content of propaganda. One of the inevitable results of the abatement of the cold war was that the previously aggressive, crude methods and techniques of anticommunism and anti-Soviet politics lost their credibility. It was at this time that the tactics of detente, which is to say, the meddling in the internal affairs of socialist countries, began to be initiated. It was this era that saw the blooming of the so-called "convergence" theories which proclaimed the future blending of the two systems.

The political developments of the late seventies and early eighties indicate that the extremist forces of the "other side" are again stepping up their antisocialist activities. The ideas of convergence between socialism and capitalism have been put aside and replaced by anticommunist theories which present socialism as a proven historical error; they exaggerate the mistakes made during the building of socialism and explain them as general social and ideological "crises." These tactics combine a renewed, straightforward antisocialist, anti-Soviet ideological propaganda with political, economic and military pressures.

What has brought about this change?

The answer is to be found in politics: the imperialist powers, first of all the United States, are striving for military superiority vis-a-vis the socialist countries. The dominant circles in Washington have torpedoed Soviet-American negotiations on European nuclear arms limitations, on strategic weapons systems, and have begun in Western Europe the installation of first strike capability missiles.

The causes of this increased aggressiveness are clearly visible: Certain circles within the capitalist countries blame the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, peaceful coexistence and the policy of detente for every defeat and unfavorable change that had affected the capitalist world. But part of the growing international tensions is capitalism's deep social economic and political crises and, consequently, its weakening world-wide military position. It is these circumstances that have brought about the growing influence of the so-called military-industrial complex which seeks to solve the crises of capitalism by stepping up the arms race. To a certain extent the problems that arose during the development of socialism as well as the serious concerns of the developing countries also contributed to the imperialistic offensive against detente.

The goals of the present antisocialist bourgeois propaganda are complex with equally important domestic and foreign policy projections. For "domestic consumption" this propaganda takes up the character of anti-communist mass appeal and for outward purposes stands ready to work in the service of ideological diversion. This anticommunist propaganda operates on two fronts. The first is to influence the hinterland's public opinion, which is to say, it frightens away the masses from the socialist alternative; it creates confusion in the peace movement; it distorts the socialist countries' peace policies, as well as those countries' avowed positions on peace and disarmament. The second is to influence the public opinion in the socialist countries.

Today, in the United States the representatives of the so-called neo-conservative views are in power. It is their ideology which provides the theoretical basis for policy making. Obviously, this policy is served by their propaganda. The views and political philosophy of this ideological system are not tolerant toward socialism. Its basic thesis is: anything that is socialist can, as a matter of course, only be harmful. This notion has produced a unique simplification of anti-communist propaganda which is manifest in the extremist, often crudely asserted prejudices about socialism, about the Soviet Union and about socialist policies. Socialism, however, must not consider hostile propaganda appearing in the Western press to be limited merely to these extremist utterances. It is a fact that until most recent times it was this extremism that was most forcefully proclaimed in propaganda aimed at the socialist countries. In our days, however, another tendency has gained strength which points to tactics that are still in the process of change: the selective treatment of Eastern European socialist countries. This can be observed first in the different methods and styles of propaganda aimed at certain countries, and secondly in the propaganda that addresses the "individual" goals of the various socialist countries.

Recently, the press of realistically thinking groups in capitalist countries have depicted a more versatile and more colorful picture of socialism which, however, still does not conform to our views and experiences. Our country is mentioned more and more frequently in the capitalist presses. More countries are acknowledging our achievements and are making realistic evaluations of our concerns. We must differentiate these realistic and rational intentions from "praises" which manifest themselves in so-called "special treatments" and which attempt with the instruments of propaganda to undermine the unity of the socialist countries.

We reject every attempt to divide us!

How are we to judge, therefore, foreign propaganda which is aimed directly against our country and which, first of all, tries to influence us?

We must know that hostile propaganda directed at socialist countries has many identical goals and common features: with every means this propaganda tries to damage the credibility of these countries' foreign policies; by exaggerating the social tensions arising from the hardships of the socialist countries, it strives to weaken their political foundation; it supports and spreads views, persons and groups which are opposed to the Communist Party and to the policy of the socialist state; it fans nationalistic sentiments. A notable goal of this foreign propaganda is the mutual alienation of the socialist countries, the exaggeration of their special features and the creation of contrasts between these features.

Of course, the propaganda aimed at Hungary also has special features. This propaganda first of all places in the limelight the differences between our country and the other socialist countries. It explains our successes as the result of cautious departure from Marxist ideology, the utilization of so-called pragmatic policies and capitalist methods. It "supports" our economic directive reform and, in fact, the forces that operate this propaganda machinery would like to "push" the ideas of our reform beyond our previously determined limit. Finally, they conclude that that which is done by Hungarians has already strayed off the ideas of socialism, and that it is a matter of time before their economic reforms spill over into the area of politics. Also "designed for us" is the policy of discrediting internationalism. This policy, while pretending to address itself to the question of nationals, stirs up nationalistic sentiments.

The substantive essence of this propaganda is that it is based on the opinions and the general well-being of our society. The mouthpieces of this propaganda study our problems unceasingly and attentively; the "credibility" of what they have to say is substantiated; they "build" on actual concerns. Thus, for example, in the area of our youth waiting for apartments, they capitalize on an otherwise not too optimistic public opinion. Additionally, they easily manipulate our young people's natural desire for peace. And if our news service is incomplete, ineffectual



and even somewhat tardy, or if some of our economic and political decisions are not met with unanimous public approval, then they volunteer to "bridge" the communication gap. They know full well that young people who are wrestling with personal problems and who are often not only inexperienced but immature in political matters are the most easily "conquerable" social stratum. Therefore, ideological warfare, and propaganda in its service, exists first of all for the winning over of youth.

Primary questions for us, therefore, are: How prepared are our young people for the struggle and for the debates over the implementation and realization of their political goals? In what way and to what extent do they partake in the furtherance of the idea and practice of socialism? One criterion of this preparedness is whether or not young people are capable of rendering a genuine refutation to theories which, for example, are planted by antisocialist propaganda crusades against our party's economic policies.

We can stand up successfully to views that falsify and distort our realities only

- if we are capable of demonstrating, explaining and proving these falsifications and distortions;
- if, even in the midst of changing circumstances, we follow policies that are guided by the ideals of Marxism-Leninism;
- if, even with our needed reforms, we equally intend to further our political system and our economy;
- if our foreign policy, in the service of national self-interest, plays an active and consistent part in the implementation of the harmonious alignment of the socialist countries;
- if, cooperating closely with our allies, we continue our efforts to reduce political and military tensions, prevent dangerous situations that threaten world peace, and maintain dialogue;
- if, in the spirit of our ideals, we reject every overt and covert attempt to break up the unity of the Socialist camp.

9919

CSO: 2500/479

## OFFICIALS DEFEND REFORM, WESTERN TIES

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 22 Jun 84 p 2

/Text/ Is Hungary, host to Chancellor Kohl this week, a socialist wonderland which has overcome its past and is making its future partly privately owned--free from domestic anxiety and nearly without fear toward the outside world? Did the 72-year-old Janos Kadar--said to be capable of only "the magic of a tired compromise," by the dramatist, Gyula Hay, after 1956--find the Hungarian magic wand today with which to straighten out for his country the tangled power fields of the worldwide economic crisis and of the East-West tension with mysterious magic?

Only someone who knows from before the scars of the year 1956 in the center of Budapest can still find them under the nearly West European consumption glitter which lights up the city on the Danube with its urbane silhouette of erstwhile dreams of glory, from the Matyas Church over the Palace Hill to the Gellert Hill. Behind the luxury hotel, financed by Austrians, on the Pest side of the "waterfront," the pedestrians pass through East Europe's most fashionable shopping street, the Vaci Street: Japanese hi-fi towers, cameras of all world makes, Persian rugs, Western credit cards on the doors of shops. Crowds, queues--but in front of butcher shops rather than bijouteries and the Parisian Gallery on Felszabadulas Square.

Introduced in 1981, the leasing of boutiques, antique shops, inns and repair shops to private individuals may have reached only a tiny circle of people and attained a small production value--but the creative extravaganza hidden in every Magyar has put forth a few thousand exotic blooms. Through the almost weekly auctions, even the half-ruined water tower on Margit Island found its own private renter. An obviously well-off citizen of the People's Republic has named the first private hotel in the center of Budapest triumphantly "Victoria." He invested the equivalent of DM2 million in it. Mitterand and Craxi already dined in the semiprivate garden restaurant, Margit, whose lessee wants to develop now the entire section of the street into a kind of mini-Grinzing.

Among the less expensive offerings of the renters are "Hamburger," marriage brokerages and back garden movies with (smuggled) Western video cassettes. A deviation from Lenin's goal--who, after the victory of socialism, wanted to "paper" the public lavatories with gold in order to unmask the artificial value of the bourgeois rare metal--is documented by the public lavatories of the Metro

station on Batthyany Square. A private entrepreneur has furnished them with posters, piped-in music and pots of flowers.

A group of Alpinists from the university in Pecs who--nearly 3 years ago, at the beginning of the leasing wave--formed a work association to rebuild chimneys, is now looking for customers through advertisements in a U.S. newspaper. Because, since last year, Hungary allows its citizens to work in the West, the first state of the socialist camp to do so. They only have to present an offer from the employer abroad, and to exchange 20 percent of their Western earnings within the country, at the official currency exchange rate.

Hungary, which realizes round 40 percent of its national income through foreign trade, which for the past 2 years has belonged to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, which after its severe liquidity crisis in 1982 is again courting the confidence of the creditors--this Hungary does not go along with the new Soviet course of isolation from the West. The country cannot and will not slow down trade with the West as proclaimed by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA) at its Moscow summit with the formula: "Solidarity and Economic Independence From the West." But it also does not let itself be drawn into political confrontation.

#### No Provocative Slogans

These days, when one speaks with top functionaries of the party, the government, the diplomatic corps and the economy, one does not get to hear provocative propagandistic slogans like missile emplacement and the danger of war, "revanchism" and "ideological interference." Although the worsening economic and international situation led to more frequent actions by the police and the courts against the small and moderate flock of Hungarian dissidents in recent times. But here also, Magyar conditions still reign. The elitist valuation which--in sharp contrast to the Poles--the leadership and the intellectual critics extend to each other, protects both sides from contempt and paranoia. Laszlo Rajk--the son of the Minister of Interior and Foreign Affairs executed in 1949 during the Stalin Era--whose Samizdat book store in the center of the city was raided in early 1983, has the opinion of all dissident actions: "No dissident says that a worse situation in the country would be better for us."

Budapest--an island of the blessed? Behind the classicist facades resembling Vienna and Brussels, the daily and the medium term perspective of the country looks considerably more somber. "The supply is excellent but many cannot pay for the goods," comments a research economist. The dreamed of market mechanism is still not functioning: So far the reform has gotten stuck with a monopolistic supply and fabricated world market prices. Two extensive price increases already this year make it clear that the government is paying off the massive Eurodollar loans of the 1970's (current net indebtedness: \$5.2 billion) at the expense of the standard of living. Since 1979, growth has stagnated and the real wages have been decreasing. An inflation approaching eight percent is expected for this year while the wages are increasing not much more than four percent. More than 30 percent of the worker families have no legal or illegal earnings on the side. They see little of the miracle and of the mood-enhancing Western consumer goods supply. The youth is becoming more aggressive through the lack



of housing and half of all the current movies deal with the housing misery. The falling birth rate calls folk mystics on the scene and contributes to the national excitement over the suppression of the Hungarian minority by Rumania.

But precisely because of this is the undiminished self-esteem of the population and the openness, even realxed calm of the leadership so impressive. Relaxedness in spite of the new East-West tension, openness in spite of the Soviet withdrawal: There are no "hawks" in the rather pigeon-gray party summit around Kadar and his time-tested, openminded chief ideologist, Gyorgy Aczel.

"When we small and middle-sized states can maintain our good contacts, this is proof that the possibilities for detente continue to exist"--comments Istvan Sarlos, politburo member and deputy prime minister, in the wood-panelled Westminster-imitation of the Hungarian Parliament building which was once erected demonstratively against Vienna." The greatness of a land is determined not only by its territory and its military power but also by culture and education--even small countries can thereby be large powers. One who leans on moral power can also develop self-esteem. One who has a clear conception of the world can build on it--but he must also respect other philosophies." The relationships with the Federal Republic are steady and good: "When we exchange experiences with the other side, again and again we uncover important information for our allies."

A high official of the Hungarian diplomatic corps: There are no problems with Bonn; the change in government produced not even a thought in Budapest that anything could change in the relationship. "We regard highly the foreign political role of the FRG--which also requires responsibility, of course. We ourselves do not want to be a mediator but rather an interpreter. It would be ridiculous wanting to mediate between the great powers but to interpret--that also seems to us a moral obligation. Whether we will be accepted as an interpreter is, however, another question." In any case, Budapest is convinced that with this approach it would serve not only Hungarian but also general interests.

And the occasional attacks by the Czech party organ RUDE PRAVO against ideological deviations by individual fraternal lands? The rediscovery of Bonn's "revanchism" by the Soviet mass media? These are byproducts of the tension which also makes us nervous. The longer it lasts the more byproducts will arise."

A politburo member on the veiled taunts of the fraternal countries among each other: "This does not have to be necessarily decoded. This does not pain us. Our national and socialist interest, to have a good relationship with the Soviet Union, remains unaffected by it."

#### Open and Relaxed

Openness and relaxedness also in the area of economics. State Secretary Matyas Timar, president of the National Bank and coauthor of the economic reform: "After the bad year of 1982, we have now achieved the most important shortrange goal: the foreign exchange reserves have risen. Our main problem no longer is liquidity but how we will relax the import restrictions and how we will increase wages and the standard of living. Some groups do not like the income differentiation--but this is of no use: one has to let the horses run again."

The room for action is not very large for the Hungarian reformer. "If the East-West relations continue to worsen, we will also suffer great setbacks in our efforts"--comments Rezso Nyers, the father of the economic reform, current member of the Central Committee and head of an institute. Thus Budapest awaits the German chancellor with long-term interests and hopes, although immediate, concrete results have not been in the plans. Hungary depends on Bonn's support with the deadlocked negotiations with the European Community. And it would be desirable indeed if the technocrats in Brussels weighed the possibly excessive economic demands by Budapest also against the political role that this unusual land is playing in Europe today.

2473

CSO: 2300/557

PESSIMISM ABOUT BIRTHRATE, FATE OF CHURCH

Buspect UJ EMBER in Hungarian 24 Jun 84 p 2

[Editorial in "Catholic View" - Column by B. Cs.]

[Text] Reformed pastor Geza Kiss, whose selected works were recently published by the publications division of the Reformed Synod Office under the title "The Bell of the Spirit," -- 37 years after his death -- was an early prophet of the extinction of the Hungarian people. The name of Geza Kiss is mainly connected with the Ormansag region; his books and articles about the Hungarians of Baranya [county] already qualify as original source materials. For this reason it was also valuable to publish a collection of his writings and a complete bibliography of his books and articles now. Those who are interested, students researching the question of single-child families, ethnographers of Baranya, cannot neglect the results and evaluations of Geza Kiss's researches. But we must call attention to something else in the present book. That is, that Geza Kiss was one of the first Hungarians to practice so-called "church sociology." From this point of view his writings in the chapters entitled "Under Dark Clouds," "Toward Life and Death," and "People and Church," are worthy of special attention. They deal with population trends and their causes just as much as with religion in communities, and the financial structure of the Reformed Church. He dares to discuss with reckless openness questions that -- unfortunately -- are still urgent, not just in connection with the Protestant churches but with the Catholic Church as well. We can read in the chapter entitled "Towards Renewal": "Will the Hungarian village have a renewal? Will it be through the Reformed Church? Absolutely. But not with our present church structure. The structured administration of today's universal Hungarian Reformed Church, along with a host of functions that flow from it, cost a typical small congregation about 40-50 percent of its tax income in 1931, but in 1932 it cost already 3-400 percent of its total income. You smile; where does it come from? That is precisely the question that no one will give you an answer to, which means that these churches no longer exist. Churches can die, one after another, but they won't fix a single screw or nail in that structure. What fine material this is for stirring up a village today against everything that pertains to the church..." The article was not written today, nor does it require explanation, but it has plenty of lessons. And further; "When will you ever give a definite program to this great life-saving work and beyond that the kind of love that will burn unceasingly within you on behalf of this wretched, vanishing people?"



SOCIAL, CULTURAL IMPACT OF GASOLINE SHORTAGE DISCUSSED

Warsaw TU I TERAZ No 28, 11 Jul 84 pp 2, 15

[Interview with Jerzy Wojcicki, Head of Main Inspectorate of Energy Management, by Janusz Atlas]

[Test] [Question] Sir, are you aware of the fact that the problems with gasoline which you manage and distribute degrade us from a civilizational point of view? I will try to explain briefly what I mean by this. Thus, today motor transport constitutes the same kind of material good for man as books, the press and television. Without this it is just simply impossible to carry on life normally. After 3 years of problems with fuel, this abnormal situation can now be seen with the naked eye. People are losing their incentive: they have lost the natural desire to travel and to become acquainted with the new. Social ties are being severed. We visit each other less often, even though the automobile has stopped being a toy for the few. I get the feeling more and more often that we are falling into some sort of civilizational pit from which it will become increasingly more difficult to extricate ourselves.

[Answer] I understand perfectly what you mean. I am one of those decision-makers who feel that gasoline should be treated like electricity; in other words, it must be generally available to everyone. I would like to call attention to yet another aspect which you did not mention. For a considerable number of our citizens, the availability of fuel is absolutely necessary because for them gasoline is a means of making a living. For yet a greater number of people, it constitutes an incentive factor for work. These people want to work better and more productively to live better. "To live better" means increasingly more frequently to "own a car." However, when it turns out that even having one's own car does not mean anything because it [the car] cannot be used when one wants to, then the people stop caring about higher work quality. They are not too inclined "to want to care."

[Question] Therefore...

[Answer] We are in agreement. However, it is essential to take into consideration economic and political factors. Gasoline is like gold. In order to have it one must have dollars, and in order to have sufficient amounts of it [gasoline], it is necessary to buy it at increasingly higher

prices. There are quite a few tankers riding at anchor in the port of Amsterdam which could reach Szczecin or Gdynia quickly and efficiently in a matter of twelve or so hours. But they will not do this for free or on credit. Theoretically, we could import this fuel from abroad, but at the expense of meat. In other words, practically speaking the situation is unthinkable.

[Question] You are bringing matters to a head, whereas in asking you for this interview I wanted to find out what our chances were.

[Answer] We are living in a crisis which, of course, is no revelation, but in my case it is a painful burden which weighs down on me virtually constantly every hour of every day. I do not have a field in which to maneuver. In neighboring countries such as the GDR and Czechoslovakia the standard "allocation" of crude oil per capita is three times higher. However, this is a set standard because, after all, what matters here is not the allocation of fuel for a person's car but, above all, for industry, where liquid fuel is absolutely indispensable. However, if our consumption of this fuel is three times lower than the norm, typical for Central Europe, then there is nothing left for me to do other than to implement the principles of distribution.

[Question] This is like "dividing a small nut into four parts."

[Answer] Exactly! The average citizen does not realize what it means to maneuver in such a cramped field and knows nothing of the ghastly discussions with governors or the haggling over the amount of fuel to be allocated for each day.

[Question] Very good. It should be that way. The hurried citizen is beginning to look around himself and see clearly the magnitude of wastefulness: the "side" trips taken by trucks, the runs all over the country made by the transportation column "for no good reason," etc. It hurts the citizen to know that this is happening at his expense.

[Answer] These are so-called prevailing opinions which are true in individual cases but basically false if we are to take into consideration the problem in its entirety. Very strict discipline is mandatory in the power industry.

[Question] However, is it not perhaps the private car owner who feels its effects most severely?

[Answer] I do not maintain that a privately owned automobile is a luxury. It has become the same kind of everyday object as, for example, the refrigerator. However, in the situation in which we find ourselves, strict rules must be enforced--something which the private consumers do not want to understand. For me the tragedy is in the social rush for egalitarianism. Why should, let us say, janitors who own cars be treated the same way during the fuel crisis as veterinarians, for whom the automobile is an

indispensable element of their work? But this is just what society wants because it means equality! And thus grows the machinery of injustice.

[Question] However, we do know that private consumers use only approximately 8 percent of the entire allotment of fuel that the state has at its disposal. That is very little, yet we are the ones who are supposed to bear the brunt of the effects of the crisis. That is some glaring injustice.

[Answer] I am glad that you brought up this subject. Perhaps, finally it will be possible to resolve another myth! It is true that in the balance of fuel the share of private consumers does not exceed 10 percent. However, in the balance of gasoline this share comes to as much as 65 percent. It is necessary to realize that in the processing of crude oil gasoline is comparable to cream after milk processing. And please try to imagine that two-thirds of the obtained cream reaches the nonsocialized sector. Now, let us take a look at what happens next. The chemical industry takes a million tons of gasoline. It has to take this much because otherwise other, surely even more basic needs of society will not be met. Besides, in the entire civilized world the limits of the minimum needs of the state in fuel consumption are capable of being defined. What I am trying to say by this is that this minimum limit is more or less constant and there is no one brave enough to try to change these proportions, because that would threaten us with a crisis. In our dreadfully difficult situation, this "safety ceiling" has been lowered even more. In turn, this means that we cannot take even a half-step backwards. We can no longer afford to make any concessions. Therefore, try to imagine what it is like to work in this sort of a situation, in an atmosphere of constant threat and constant maneuvering with a quilt that is too short.

[Question] That which you are saying is convincing. However, I would like to defend egalitarianism for a second. Since there cannot be more gasoline for private consumers--let us concentrate here on this most important fuel for the average citizen--then let us at least distribute it in some sort of fair manner. Meanwhile, we really do not know what this distribution looks like.

[Answer] Indeed, taxicabs weigh heavily on the gasoline balance. It is enough to say that the monthly allowance of gasoline for a taxicab driver is 10 times greater than the "ration card" allotment for the average citizen. Of course, there are incomparably fewer taxis than private automobiles, but according to rather accurate calculations taxi drivers take one-fourth of the gasoline intended for private individuals. If we could have this gasoline at our disposal, I would propose its deregulation. But would such a decision satisfy the public? Can you imagine a situation in which there are no taxis? Furthermore, what sort of egalitarianism would this be if many Polish families still do not own cars because the majority of the public still cannot, unfortunately, afford to buy them?

[Question] In other words, everything will stay the same?

[Answer] It simply cannot be otherwise because every new idea will not be better but may be worse. We could, for example, attempt a market balance



price. It would be even lower than that offered by profiteers. However, it would still be too high for the majority of car owners.

[Question] In any case, the price of gasoline in Poland is awfully high.

[Answer] I will say only this--it cannot be lower. Gasoline rationing shows that this is not a balance price. However, let us assume that we would introduce such a price suitable to the situation and the capabilities of the state. That majority which we talked about at the beginning of our conversation would be severely hit in the pocket. Those who feel frustrated by the inability to use their car in a normal fashion and for whom owning a car does not offer any satisfaction. In addition, the introduction of new gasoline distribution rules would signify the awarding of bonuses to a misconstrued elite. After all, it is a well-known fact that even today when ration cards are used, there are those who do not feel at all affected by this problem. These are so-called business people, for whom it is worthwhile to pay for 1 liter of gasoline three times as much than the official government price.

[Question] However, this "elite" of today is the force behind speculation. I have been finding out that the system of "cutting out" gasoline ration cards instead of stamping them has turned out to be quite effective against pumpers. I understand that gas station agents have not as yet "cracked" this system, although such attempts continue. In this situation, the main suppliers of gasoline "on the sly" are the drivers from the nonsocialized sector and taxicab drivers. Although I am decidedly against it, a balance price would curb their business.

[Answer] Outwardly. During times when there was plenty of gasoline on the market without restrictions, drivers would sell their "surplus" just as they do now. All that they would do is simply lower the price. In such a situation, it would be possible to buy gasoline from a dishonest driver more cheaply than from the state. But who has access to speculators? After all, it is not the average citizen who does, but various "businessmen." And it is they who would benefit from a state-introduced increase. You can see for yourself that the risk of introducing a balance price is too great.

[Question] Let us, therefore, return to the first basic question of our discussion. Do you see the possibility of keeping the civilizational achievement of the automobile? What I have in mind, of course is our Polish reality.

[Answer] I do see such a possibility. However, two conditions must be met. First of all, we must have allies who think the same. Sudden and rapid movements only deepen the crisis. Gradually, step by step and by conserving wherever possible, we will come out of this "pit," accumulate supplies and learn how to manage efficiently that which we have, and the situation will return to normal.

The second, indispensable condition is more difficult to fulfill: it must find the means to remodel an entire enormous branch of industry. Without

the power industry, progress in every area of the economy and of the life of our society is impossible. It is necessary to make use of all possible avenues, thereby relieving the economy from its dependence on fuel, which is expensive and which requires great foreign-exchange outlays, and what is worse, we all know that it will become more expensive. However, this presents such a vast topic that I believe it requires another discussion.

9853

CSO: 2600/1108

## REVISIONS IN CAR DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM EMPOWER OFFICIALS

### Old Law

Warsaw MONITOR POLSKI in Polish No 7, 12 Mar 81 pp 54-55, item 59

[Decree No 49 of the Council of Ministers of 26 February 1981 on the sale of automobiles to the general public and on the development of the support base of the automobile industry]

[Excerpt] In order to streamline the system of automobile sales to the general public in accordance with the demands of the worker crews and, based on opinions and conclusions from social consultations, as well as to secure conditions for further development of the support base for the automobile industry—in accordance with article 8, paragraph 3 of the decree of 12 June 1975—the Council of Ministers decrees the following:

Paragraph 1. The previously existing system of allocation and sale of passenger automobiles by means of personal authorizations ("coupons") is cancelled.

Paragraph 2.1 The sale of domestic passenger automobiles to the general public is conducted through the pre-payment plan;

2. Imported passenger automobiles are sold for cash only;

3. The number and the makes of domestic passenger automobiles allocated for sale through the pre-payment plan for the years 1982-85 are specified in the addendum to this decree;

4. The number and the makes of passenger automobiles to be allocated for sale through the pre-payment plan in 1986 and the following years will be established by the minister of the engineering industry at the time of the implementation of the pre-payment plan for the individual years following 1985. The implementation of the pre-payment plan for the post-1985 period will take place after the receipt of the pre-payments for the years 1982-85 is concluded.

Paragraph 3.1 Pre-payments for certain makes of domestic passenger automobiles will be deposited in special automobile purchase accounts, established by the specialized departments of the Polish National Bank --the general savings banks--at the depositor's area of residence;



2. The ministers of the engineering industry and of finance jointly with the minister of domestic trade and services will define the principles and methods of passenger automobile sales and of depositing pre-payments in special pre-payment accounts based on the following guidelines:

- (1) a special pre-payment account for the purchase of a domestic passenger automobile may only be opened by a person of legal age without the right to transfer the said account to another name, except in the case of inheritance by another person;
- (2) deposits in the special account will earn annual interest:  
(a) for the depositor--4 percent if the saving time is not longer than 3 years, or 5 percent if the saving time exceeds 3 years;  
and (b) for the Fund for the Development of the Support Base for the Automobile Industry--2 percent;
- (3) if the special account holder decides against the purchase of a domestic passenger automobile through the pre-payment plan, he will be able to withdraw his payments along with the 6-percent annual interest;
- (4) if the depositor loses the right to purchase a domestic passenger automobile, he will receive his deposit back along with a 3-percent annual interest;
- (5) if the amount of pre-payments exceeds the number of automobiles allocated for sale in a given year, the right to purchase a domestic automobile is determined by a public drawing in which all owners of the special pre-payment accounts opened during that period will participate;
- (6) a new automobile may be purchased by a person who has not purchased a new automobile in the last 4 years (restriction period) in the Polmozbyt institutions or in other organizational units, supervised by the minister of the engineering industry; persons who purchase automobiles in the framework of the internal exports are exempted from this restriction.

3. A new automobile may be purchased before the expiration of the period defined in paragraph 2, point 6, when the previously purchased car was destroyed or damaged to the extent that its use is impossible and, therefore, it was scrapped; the purchaser must document such a situation.

Paragraph 4. The sale of passenger automobiles is based on the principle that the sale price equals the price of the automobile on the day of the sale.

Paragraph 5.1 Automobiles allocated for sale to the general public in quantities based on the national annual socioeconomic plans are at the disposal of the minister of the engineering industry acting in concert with the minister of domestic trade and services;

2. The minister of the engineering industry in concert with the minister of domestic trade and services separates from the passenger automobiles allocated for sale to the general public certain quantities of automobiles, which are:

- (1) specialized and adapted for the handicapped, rural and regional physicians, who perform their duties in difficult access areas as well as for the agricultural-veterinary service, and for taxicab drivers;
- (2) intended for persons who are authorized to use their private automobiles to perform official duties;
- (3) intended for persons who had deposited pre-payments for passenger automobiles before this decree went into effect;
- (4) intended as a reserve to be at the disposal of the minister of the engineering industry for the purpose of exchanges of automobiles based on warranty requirements and defects as well as bonuses and awards for winnings in games, lotteries, and competitions, and also to control the effects of changes in the automobile production and distribution, and for other unforeseen needs;

3. The distribution of automobiles, defined in paragraph 2, points 1-2, is performed by:

- (1) the minister of health and social welfare, in the case of the handicapped and rural and regional physicians who perform their duties in difficult access areas;
- (2) the minister of agriculture, in the case of agricultural and veterinary service;
- (3) the minister of domestic trade and services, in the case of taxicab drivers;
- (4) the minister of transportation, in the case of persons who are authorized to use their private automobiles to perform official duties.

#### New Law

Warsaw MONITOR POLSKI in Polish No 12, 23 May 84 pp 116-117, item 83

[Decree No 45 of the Council of Ministers of 19 March 1984 on changes in the decree on the sale of automobiles to the general population and on the development of the base for the automobile industry]

[Text] The Council of Ministers orders the following:

Section 1. The following changes are being introduced in paragraph 5 of Decree No 49 of the Council of Ministers of 29 February 1981 on the sale of

automobiles to individuals and on the development of the base for the automobile industry (MONITOR POLSKI 1981 No 7, item 59; No 29, item 269; and No 31, item 281; and 1982 No 25, item 232):

(1) in paragraph 2:

(a) point 1 is changed to: "1) specialized, the construction of which is adapted for the use by the handicapped, rural and regional physicians, who perform their duties in difficult access areas as well as for the agricultural-veterinary service, miners, and other professional groups, who perform in difficult conditions, and for taxicab drivers,"

(b) a new point 2 is added: "2) for the purpose of bonuses and awards for saving bonds, games, lotteries, and competitions,"

(c) points 2-5 are changed to 3-6,

(d) in point 5 the phrase "awarding bonuses for games, lotteries, and competitions" is deleted,

(e) in point 6 the phrase "1 percent" is changed to "3 percent";

(2) paragraph 3 is changed to: "3. The distribution of automobiles, the numerical allocations of which are given in paragraph 2, points 1-3 and 6, is performed by:

1) the minister of administration and land-use economy with regard to employees of his ministry as well as to employees of local administrative organs, and to taxicab drivers,

2) the minister of construction and construction materials industry with regard to employees of his ministry as well as employees of construction materials manufacturing organizations and to self-government organizations in the construction industry,

3) the minister of finance with regard to employees of his ministry as well as for the purposes of games, lotteries, and competitions,

4) the minister of mining and power industry with regard to miners who work on official holidays and to other employees of his ministry as well as to employees of other mining and power industry organizations,

5) the minister of domestic trade and services with regard to employees of subordinate organizations as well as of self-government organizations, whose activities are in the domain of domestic trade and services,

6) the minister of metallurgy and engineering industry with regard to miners who work on official holidays as well as to other employees of his ministry,



- 7) the minister of culture and art with regard to artists, employees of the printing industry and to other subordinate establishments, as well as to employees of other organizations involved in culture and art-related activities,
- 8) the minister of forestry and timber industry with regard to employees of his ministry,
- 9) the minister of communications with regard to rural postal workers as well as employees engaged in emptying mail boxes and pay telephones, and to all other employees of his ministry,
- 10) the minister of national defense with regard to the military and civil employees of his ministry,
- 11) the minister of chemical and light industry with regard to miners who work on official holidays, as well as to all other employees of his ministry, and to employees of other subordinate organizations,
- 12) the minister of agriculture and food economy with regard to employees of agricultural and veterinary services as well as to employees of state farms and of other subordinate organizations, and to employees of self-government organizations who are involved in activities in the area of agriculture and food economy,
- 13) the minister of internal affairs with regard to Security Service and Citizen's Militia functionaries as well as to other employees of his ministry,
- 14) the minister of health and social welfare with regard to the handicapped as well as to rural and regional physicians who perform their duties in difficult access areas and to employees of other subordinate organizations,
- 15) the president of the Polish National Bank with regard to bank employees nationwide and bonus awards for purchases of saving bonds,
- 16) the minister of transportation with regard to employees of his ministry and cooperative organizations as well as of ministries and institutions omitted in points 1-15."

Paragraph 2. The decree takes effect on the day of its publication.

[signed] Z. Messner, for the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

8609

CSO: 2600/1069

## NATIONAL, REGIONAL DEMOGRAPHIC PATTERNS EXAMINED

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Jan-Feb 84 pp 49-57

[Article by Vladimir Trebici: "A National Demographic Model and Regional Sub-models"]

[Text] The evolution of the demographic phenomena in Romania in the last three decades and a half has exhibited several trends that, concisely worded, can be defined as follows: a decline in the general death rate and, respectively, a rise in the average lifespan, from approximately 42 years to 72 years, a more than 6-fold decline in infant mortality, a decline in the birth rate, as a long-term trend, a change in the age structure of the population, in the sense of its demographic aging, and a relatively high rate of marriage throughout the above-mentioned period. If we associate the economic and social processes with the demographic ones, Romania's population has undergone qualitative changes: its amount of schooling has risen systematically, the professional and economic structure has been modernized and improved, the social structure has undergone radical changes, the population's distribution over the country's territory has changed, now presenting a new configuration, and urbanization has occurred at a rapid rate.

The demographic processes cannot be understood unless they are correlated with the social and economic changes that the country has experienced in this interval of time, although the causal connections cannot be identified easily.

The statistical data obtained in the four population censuses (1948, 1956, 1966 and 1977) and those furnished by the current demographic statistics, and the studies that have been published over the years, point clearly to the above-mentioned trends.

Some symptoms that must be studied more thoroughly and, of course, not just with the conventional methods of demography have appeared in the past few years in the evolution of the demographic phenomena. It is a question, above all, of the marked decline in the birth rate: the continuation of this trend in ensuing years can generate consequences of the most unfavorable kind for the future of our nation. On 1 January 1983, the size of Romania's population was 22,527,235 inhabitants, and the growth since 1 January 1982 was 102,989 inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> Converted into percentages, the rate of growth was 0.5 percent (more precisely, 0.46 percent), lower than in 1962-1966, a period of rapid decline in

the birth rate. The total growth consists--as is well known--of the natural growth (natural gain) and the balance of the foreign migration. However, the natural gain in 1982 was 5.3 per thousand or 0.53 percent, also lower than in the 1962-1966 period (6.0 per thousand or 0.6 percent in 1965). Consequently, the current trends in the birth rate and the natural gain resemble those in the 1962-1966 period. Of course, there are also some differences between the two periods, as is seen from Table 1.

Table 1

Indices	1965-1966	1982	1982 Compared with 1965/66
1. Rate of total growth (percent)	0.60	0.46	- 0.14
2. Rate of natural gain (per thousand)	6.0	5.3	- 0.7
3. Birth rate (per thousand)	14.4	15.3	+ 0.9
4. Death rate (per thousand)	8.4	10.0	+ 1.6
5. Rate of infant mortality (per thousand)	45.0	28.0	- 17.0
6. Average lifespan (years)	68.5	70.0	+ 1.5
7. Total rate of fertility (number of children)	1.90	2.17	+ 0.27
8. Gross rate of reproduction (number of daughters)*	0.92	1.053	+ 0.133
9. Net rate of reproduction (number of daughters)**	0.86	1.007	+ 0.147

\* Number of daughters that a woman would leave behind her during her fertile period (15-49 years), without taking into account the effect of mortality.

\*\*Number of daughters, also taking into account the effect of mortality.

The conditions of the female population's fertility in 1965-1966 no longer provided in the future the replacement of the generations or simple reproduction.<sup>3</sup> Although the replacement of the generations was still provided in 1982 (the daughter generation would be 0.7 percent bigger than the mother generation), it is easy to foresee that a further decline in fertility will mean that very soon it will no longer be possible to achieve simple reproduction of the population, which means the start of the process of decline in the absolute size of the population.

The problem of the decline in the birth rate and in the natural growth was examined by the Political Executive Committee in the session of 26 April 1983, with a number of measures being prescribed. The National Conference with Personnel in the Health Field in September 1983 discussed the problem in detail and drew up a program of measures with a medical character meant to help to rectify the birth rate.<sup>4</sup>

In this situation, a thorough study of the causes that led to the decline in fertility and, more generally, the causes of the demographic phenomena becomes a sine qua non condition for substantiating the political decisions. We must recognize that Romanian demography, despite its achievements, has not responded fully to its mission, has not provided the studies that would bring out the mechanism of the production of the demographic phenomena and, in particular, of

the birth rate. On the other hand, not even other sciences that are concerned with the study of the population, from different viewpoints, have made their expected contribution. Consequently, it is time for the study of the demographic phenomena, of their causes and of the consequences that they generate, to be intensified, in an interdisciplinary spirit, with well-thought-out priorities. In this regard, it seems absolutely necessary to us to involve to a greater degree sciences like ethnography, cultural anthropology, social psychology and sociology and to intensify the studies on historical demography. The approach of the demographic model, as a cultural model, and of the submodels varying according to essential characteristics (urban and rural area, historical provinces, social categories, nationalities and so on) would be, in our opinion, a first step. We underscore the importance of ethnography and cultural anthropology with the simple argument that for a population that is still 50-percent rural (30-40 years ago, it was 80-percent rural), the identification of the demographic model of peasant origin is essential both for explaining the current demographic phenomena and for some estimates with a prospective character.

One sometimes finds in the studies on demography and sociology of the population the statement that in the past few decades the demographic behavior of the population has changed under the influence of a large number of factors--insufficiently studied--and that this change has occurred at an unusually rapid rate. This is, as a matter of fact, a characteristic of the demographic transition in Romania.<sup>5</sup> However, what is this demographic behavior and to what extent is it possible to speak of the existence of demographic models (in the sense of a pattern) and submodels? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to reexamine the notion of cultural model. This, in its turn, also involves the notions of status and role. In the most general sense, behavior represents all of the actions, acts, reactions--motor, verbal, affective--through which a person responds to the outer world's demands of a physical or social nature, it being a category of social psychology.<sup>6</sup> Behavior expresses a psychological reality dependent simultaneously on the outer world and the inner world. The presence and influence of the social are concretized, at the level of human behavior, in the status and role of the person. Behavior can be: professional, through which the person is objectified in work relations; economic, through which the person relates, as a consumer, to the material values of society; cultural, through which he relates to the spiritual values of society; it is also political behavior, moral behavior and so on. Therefore, the recognition of the demographic behavior with which we will concern ourselves in more detail is also permitted. The systematic study of the relationships between the individual, society and culture lies in the domain of psychology, sociology and anthropology, in an interdisciplinary synthesis that permits the analysis of the mechanisms, trends and human behavior (the science of human behavior).

The cultural model--according to R. Linton's definition<sup>7</sup>--is a consensus of behavior and of opinion, and culture as a whole is a more or less organized aggregate of such models. At bottom, "culture is society's way of life," R. Linton says, making at the same time a distinction between a real cultural model and a constructed one. According to the same author, "a real culture consists of the sum total of the behaviors of the members of a society, insofar



as these behaviors are taught and shared. A real cultural model represents a limited field of behaviors, within which the responses of the society's members to a certain situation are normally integrated."<sup>6</sup> The genesis of a behavior and a cultural model is due more to sociocultural factors than physical ones. Let us also mention that cultural models vary according to social groups and become aggregates on a macrosocial level through specific mechanisms.

Demographic behavior and the demographic model also enter into the general paradigm of the cultural model. At a general glance, demographic behavior represents all of the actions and reactions through which a person responds to the outer world's demands of a physical or social nature as regards vital events like birth and death, to which we also add marriage. Widening the sphere of the demographic events, we can also speak of a behavior and, respectively, a model in relation to migration. A theory of the demographic model should distinguish a reproductive or procreative behavior, a nuptial and familial behavior, as a reference to marriage and family, a behavior regarding death—more precisely, health—and another regarding migration (mobile or sedentary behavior). These behaviors and models, forged over a long period, vary according to groups, have validity in a certain territorial area; with evolution, they become aggregates, it being possible to speak of a homogenization of them. The influence of the sociocultural factors is obvious. How would it be possible to explain, for instance, the transition over approximately two generations (about six decades) from the 5-child fertility model to the current 2-child model or from the extended family to the nuclear family? The demographic model, like any cultural model, "transgresses" a social group, can be extended and generalized or, on the contrary, can be annihilated by another social group. We can now speak of a generalized reproductive demographic model in the sense of a family of small proportions, initially valid within certain social categories or within the urban population, one which has also included in its orbit the rural population. The fate of the peasant demographic model particularly interests us: to what extent it still exists, if it has influenced the urban model, and what its chances of survival are. However, this model is favorable to marriage, family and motherhood; it is an integral part of the peasant cultural model. It would also be useful to tackle the very controversial problem of the "national specific character," of the characteristic traits of the Romanian people (C. Radulescu-Motru, L. Blaga, M. Ralea, H. H. Stahl and so on) and of their expression in the demographic behavior and model. In order to not arrive at hasty generalizations, the most suitable method for distinguishing these traits would be that of field research—ethnographic, sociological, demographic—with rational working hypotheses. From a limited demographic viewpoint, one possible approach is that of studying the differential demography according to urban and rural areas, according to historical provinces, according to areas formed of counties or even communes—if this is possible—according to social categories and so on.

To begin with, we will examine some aspects of the demographic phenomena according to historical provinces, starting from the hypothesis of the existence of demographic submodels and of a convergence of them on a national level. We are limited by the availability of the statistical data, which do not permit such an examination except beginning with 1966.

The aggregation of the counties according to historical provinces also introduces an element of approximation.<sup>9</sup>

The most general picture of the demographic characteristics according to historical provinces is that in Table 2.<sup>10</sup>

Table 2. The Birth and Death Rates and the Natural Gain According to Historical Provinces, 1966-1980, 1981 and 1982

Historical Provinces	Birth Rate			Death Rate			(per thousand) Natural Gain		
	1966-1980	1981	1982	1966-1980	1981	1982	1966-1980	1981	1982
Romania	20.2	17.0	15.3	9.5	10.0	10.0	10.7	7.0	5.3
Oltenia	19.7	15.8	14.8	10.3	10.9	11.2	9.4	4.9	3.6
Walachia	20.6	16.1	14.4	9.5	10.3	10.4	11.1	5.8	4.0
Dobruja	20.6	18.3	15.0	8.1	9.3	8.4	12.5	9.0	6.6
Moldavia	24.2	20.7	19.0	8.1	8.6	8.9	16.1	12.1	10.1
Banat	15.4	13.9	12.0	12.1	12.3	11.5	3.3	1.6	0.5
Transylvania	19.9	17.2	15.5	9.6	9.7	9.5	10.3	7.4	6.0
Crisana-Maramures	19.0	16.5	15.2	11.1	11.7	11.3	7.9	4.8	3.9
Municipality of Bucharest	14.3	13.7	11.6	9.0	10.2	9.5	5.3	3.5	2.1

Note: The data for 1981 and 1982 also include in the municipality of Bucharest the Ilfov agricultural sector, which, for 1966-1980, was included in Walachia.

The decline in the birth rate is general: at the level of the country and in the historical provinces. However, the differences in level remain: the highest birth rate continues to exist in Moldavia; the lowest in Banat and the municipality of Bucharest. Nevertheless, the decline in the birth rate is more moderate in Transylvania and Crisana-Maramures. Moldavia provides one-fourth of the total number of live births, it being a veritable demographic reservoir of Romania. Favored by a young demographic structure, Moldavia also has a high natural gain. The general consequence of the birth and death rates is the age structure of the population. For the 1966-1980 period, the average age of Romania's population was 33.03 years; the population of Banat and the municipality of Bucharest had an average age of nearly 36 years, while Moldavia had 30.77 years. The most advanced degree of aging is characteristic of the province of Banat, the municipality of Bucharest and, apparently paradoxically, the population of Oltenia. The main cause of the demographic aging is the decline in the birth rate.<sup>11</sup>

As regards the death rate, the highest level is in Banat, followed by Oltenia and Crisana-Maramures. The explanation—at least partly—is the more advanced demographic aging in these provinces. The standardized death rates and the values of the average lifespan according to provinces correct this picture. To speak of demographic models and of submodels at the level of these general and imperfect indices is inadvisable. Consequently, we will examine the nuptiality and fertility in more detail, with the help of indices that are not influenced by the age structure.

Marriage and nuptiality, the family and its formation, the family life cycle are strongly influenced by social, cultural, psychological and other factors.

The average age at the first marriage, the rate of marriage and the proportion of final celibacy are indices that hold the attention of not only the demographer but also the anthropologist and sociologist. There are types of early and late marriage and there are populations with a high propensity for marriage, where the celibacy is almost zero or, on the contrary, where the celibacy is very high. The following are characteristic of Romania's population: a young age at the first marriage, a rapid rate of marriage as a function of age, and a low proportion of final celibacy.<sup>12</sup> If we take the population censuses in 1899, 1912, 1956, 1966 and 1977 (for 1899 and 1912, on the then territory of Romania) and refer to the female population, the average age at the first marriage (L. Hajnal's method) varied between 20.2 and 21.7 years, and the proportion of celibacy at the age of 45-49 years varied between 3 and 4.3 percent—that is, it was very low.

The situation is not changed much if we take the total rate of marriage and the average age at marriage on the basis of the current demographic statistical data for 1961-1982. Thus, for women the total rate of marriage (transversal data) varied between 800 and 1,075 first marriages per 1,000 unmarried women, and the average age between 21.6 years and 22.3 years.<sup>13</sup> The difference between the average age of the women at the first marriage was 3 to 3.5 years, exhibiting surprising stability. The international comparisons also show the high propensity of Romania's population for marriage. This is the Romanian nuptial model, whose peasant origin is obvious.

According to historical provinces, the data (only for 1982) show a significant variation.

Table 3. The Total Rate of Marriage and the Average Age at the First Marriage (1982) According to Historical Provinces

<u>Historical Provinces</u>	<u>Total Rate of Marriage (per 1,000)</u>		<u>Average Age at First Marriage</u>		<u>Difference M - F</u>
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Romania	880	994	25.32	21.82	3.50
Oltenia	912	1,073	25.44	22.25	3.19
Walachia	875	1,014	25.24	21.55	3.69
Dobruja	828	1,055	25.38	21.41	3.97
Moldavia	950	992	24.97	21.78	2.81
Banat	786	935	25.55	21.89	3.66
Transylvania	824	940	25.45	21.86	3.59
Crisana-Maramures	885	957	25.25	21.50	3.75
Municipality of Bucharest	897	1,019	25.84	23.00	2.84

The highest values of the total rate of marriage in the female population are in Oltenia, Dobruja and the municipality of Bucharest (values above 1); in the male population, Moldavia and Oltenia are in the top spots. Low values are characteristic of the population in Banat, Transylvania and Crisana-Maramures



(the female population). As regards the average age at the first marriage, the variations lie between 24.97 years (Moldavia) and 25.84 years (the municipality of Bucharest) for men and between 21.41 years (Dobruja) and 22.5 years (Oltenia) for women. The difference between men and women, as in the past, is 3.5 years on a national level, with insignificant variations according to historical provinces. The analysis of the data for a single year do not allow us statements regarding the nuptial submodels, but it draws attention to the necessity of investigating the differences found.

The fertility of the female population according to historical provinces is presented in Table 4.

Table 4. The Total Rate of Fertility, the Gross and Net Rates of Reproduction and the Average Age of the Mothers at the Birth of Their Children

<u>Historical Provinces</u>	<u>Total Rate of Fertility (number of children)</u>	<u>Average Age of Mothers (years)</u>	<u>Rate of Reproduction (number of daughters)</u>	
			<u>Gross</u>	<u>Net</u>
Romania	2.17	24.98	1.053	1.0072
Oltenia	2.32	24.11	1.129	1.0806
Walachia	2.30	24.30	1.116	1.0680
Dobruja	1.96	24.41	0.951	0.9100
Moldavia	2.84	25.78	1.378	1.3170
Banat	1.57	24.49	0.762	0.7291
Transylvania	2.06	25.21	1.003	0.9521
Crisana-Maramures	2.14	25.12	1.038	0.9927
Municipality of Bucharest	1.34	25.44	0.650	0.6215

Note: The survival functions of Romania's population from V. Ghetau's table were used to calculate the net rate of reproduction according to provinces.

Before making some comments, let us mention that the total rate of fertility (determined transversally and longitudinally) was about 5 children (in 1900 and 1910), with an average age of approximately 29 years for the mothers; in 1930, the total rate of fertility was still high. In the postwar period, it dropped to 2.15 children (1958-1966) and rose to 2.96 children (1967-1974), after which the decline reappeared.<sup>14</sup> In 1982, it was 2.17 children, with an average age of about 25 years; the net rate of reproduction was very close to the level for replacing the generations. As regards the historical provinces, the highest fertility--as we expected--was found in Moldavia (2.8 children per woman during her fertile period), which provided an extended reproduction of approximately 32 percent (the net rate: 1,317). Oltenia, Walachia and Crisana-Maramures follow. The lowest levels: the municipality of Bucharest (1.3 children), Banat (1.6 children) and, paradoxically, Dobruja, with a bit less than 2 children. As regards the age of the mothers at the birth of the children--25 years on a national level--it varies between 24.1 years (Oltenia) and 25.8 years (Moldavia). Relatively high fertility corresponds to early nuptiality, a finding made long ago in our demographic literature.

However, when we turn to the net rate of reproduction, we find that it is below 1 in the municipality of Bucharest, Banat, Dobruja, Transylvania and



Crisana-Maramures, whose population represents nearly half of Romania's population. In other words, half of the country's population does not provide simple reproduction of itself or the exact replacement of the generations. A further decline in fertility will result in the shrinking of reproduction for the whole population of the country. We are limiting ourselves to a very general presentation of the nuptiality and fertility according to historical provinces, it remaining for us to tackle on another occasion the problem of internal migration, a highly complex one both with respect to the motivations, scope and flows and with respect to the consequences that it generates regarding the demographic submodels. The transfer of populations is also a transfer of behaviors and of models. But we know so little about this, although we have several remarkable studies.<sup>15</sup>

The above remarks were intended to draw attention to the necessity of extending the demographic analysis by adopting the notion of demographic model and to address to disciplines like ethnography, cultural anthropology, sociology and historical demography an invitation to closer collaboration with demography. The decline in the fertility of Romania's population in the past few years obliges the scientists to examine this trend multilaterally, from the viewpoint of the causes and possible consequences. At the same time, it invites all citizens of the country to reflect, it being a question of our nation's future.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. SCINTEIA, 27 April 1983.
2. The survival functions from the 1981-1982 mortality table prepared by V. Ghetau (females, 72.51 years; males, 66.82 years) were used to calculate the net rate of reproduction. See, in more detail: V. Ghetau, "Recent Developments in the Average Lifespan in Romania," VIITORUL SOCIAL, No 6, 1983. [No footnote reference number given in text of source]
3. For this, taking into account the level of mortality in Romania, a couple should have 2.14 children or a gross rate of reproduction of 1.05 (daughters), which corresponds to a net rate of reproduction of 1 (the exact replacement of the mother generation by the daughter generation).
4. ROMANIA LIBERA, 29 September 1983.
5. In more detail: V. Trebici, "La Transition Demographique dans les Pays de l'Europe de l'Est: la Cas de la Roumanie," Societa Italiana de Economia, Demografia e Statistica, Nuova Serie, No 7, 1981, Rome; and V. Trebici, "The Demographic Transition: Theories and Applications in Romania," a paper at the Laboratory of Historical Demography of the University of Bucharest, 28 April 1982.
6. "Dictionar de Psihologie Sociala" [Dictionary of Social Psychology], Bucharest, Stiintifica si Enciclopedica Publishing House, 1981, pp 52-54.

7. Ralph Linton, "Fundamentul Cultural al Personalitatii" [The Cultural Foundation of the Personality], an introductory study by V. V. Caramelea, Stiintifica Publishing House, 1968, pp 61, 82-84.
8. R. Linton, op. cit., p 84.
9. The historical province so reconstituted does not coincide completely with what it was in the past. For the municipality of Bucharest, the situation is complicated by the fact that the statistical data after 1980 also include the Ilfov agricultural sector, which should have been in the historical province of Walachia.
10. V. Trebici, "Les Provinces Historiques de la Roumanie: Aspecte Demographiques," in the volume "Papers in Honour of Octav Onicescu on His 90th Birthday," editors M. C. Demetrescu and M. Iosifescu, Rome, Nagard Publishing House, 1983, pp 465-474.
11. V. Trebici, "The Demographic Aging of the Romanian Population. Causes and Consequences," ROMANIAN JOURNAL OF GERONTOLOGY AND GERIATRICS, No 1, Vol 4, 1983, pp 59-69.
12. See: V. Trebici, "Nuptiality and Demographic Transition in Romania," in "The Demographic Transition," edited by P. Khalatbari, Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1982, pp 219-237; Vl. Trebici, "Nuptiality Within the Demographic Transition in Romania, 1900-1980," a paper at the Laboratory of Historical Demography of the University of Bucharest, 23 February 1983.
13. The meaning of the total rate of marriage is that of the number of first marriages per 1,000 unmarried persons. The maximum value should be 1,000 first marriages. However, since the data are transversal, there are situations when this index exceeds 1 or 1,000.
14. V. Trebici, "La Situation Demographique de la Roumanie," in the volume "Natalite et Politiques de Population en France et en Europe de l'Est," INED [Institut National d'Etudes Demographiques], PUF [Presses Universitaires de France], Paris, 1982.
15. Among the studies by sociologists on this subject, we mention those of D. Sandru, published over the years in the periodical VIITORUL SOCIAL.

12105

CS0: 2700/170

## MAGYARORSZAG DETAILS 'SCIENTIFIC NUTRITION' PROGRAM

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 15 Jul 84 p 11

/Text/ Actually no one was taken by surprise, in Romania, by the news that the Great National Assembly has accepted unanimously the scientific nutrition program for the population since the party leadership had passed such a resolution already 2 years ago, on 3 June 1982, and within a few days they published in the newspaper a program plan which detailed, over a page and a half, the negative effects of overeating and the way to eliminate it. This plan was submitted to public debate at the time but nothing was subsequently written about it until its final acceptance by the Great National Assembly on 29 June 1984. It is noteworthy that, when the program was developed in 1982, the rationing of certain foodstuffs, such as sugar and cooking oil, was introduced simultaneously in Romania, and an attempt was made to regulate the distribution of other foodstuffs through local measures. Noting the signs of scarcity, a deprivation psychosis had already developed and the people indeed purchased over and above their need; simultaneously with the introduction of per capita allotments, articles condemning the "grabbers, speculators and hoarders" had regularly appeared in the press.

There were a series of resolutions, ordinances and laws which were, in one form or another, also related to nutrition. In October 1982, President Nicolae Ceausescu had paid brief surprise visits to the markets in Bucharest and the high ranking officials responsible for the market supply were replaced the very same day. Although record yields were recorded by agriculture in 1982, there was hardly any change in the general food supply situation. In the spring of 1983, price ceilings were introduced on the markets and the official and police controls were made more stringent. At the same time, the unauthorized slaughter of animals was again prohibited and the existing penalties were raised in order to limit the unlawful sale of meat and meat products. Also during this time, investigations had to be carried out "to find out the causes of extensive animal losses." In 1983, first the drought and later the excessive precipitation caused difficulties for agriculture and it remained behind the projected, ambitious goals especially in grain production. During this time, the slogan was often repeated by authorities that "there is no bread without work"--in other words, if you don't work, you should not eat. By the end of the year, one could already read about "meat theft crimes" and verdicts.

In view of the outstanding agricultural yields in 1982, the Romanian leadership has started to urge more and more an increase in agricultural exports, and Nicolae Ceausescu himself recalled that Romania used to be a large agricultural exporter and that this would also be possible today. The fact is that even then Romanian agriculture has started to contribute more and more toward achieving the country's increasing export goals. Of the meat produced, for instance, only 54,900 tons were exported in 1960, still only 55,300 tons in 1970, while there was a sharp rise in meat export to 136,000 tons, many times the previous amount by 1982. (At the same time, there was also a sharp rise in oil import: from a little over 2 million tons in 1970 to nearly 11 million tons in 1982. The peak was reached in 1980 with nearly 16 million tons of oil imported.) Knowing the data of this year's plan and of the intermediate-range plan, one can be certain that agriculture will continue to play an important role in decreasing the size of debts and in achieving the exports needed to pay for oil imports.

Also related to the public food supply and mostly to the local supply is the program accepted in early 1984, involving nearly every agricultural product, while obliges the small agricultural producers and private farmers to sign contracts and to deliver quotas to the state. The amount contracted for will, of course, already appear in the local supply projections irrespective of how much of it the farmers will or can deliver to the purchasing authorities.

The "scientific program" now accepted, but known for 2 years, attempts to approach the public supply problems from the angle of requirements and scientific norms. It stems from the fact that one cannot very well set compulsory goals because, after all, everyone eats as much and spends as much on food as his purse allows, and the supply at markets and in stores makes possible. One can hardly place inspectors at the Sunday or weekday table of families which--according to the statement of the program--is loaded with "too much of animal fats, grain products and carbohydrates." In connection with the program, every one of the articles published 2 years ago warned about the diseases, health problems and obesity caused by "overeating and unbalanced nutrition." Still in 1982, a book was published by Health Publisher under the title: "Nutritional Needs and Errors." One of the articles published at that time put it straight: "The health of man and his nutrition is by no means a private matter." It was also revealed in the article that, according to a Romanian survey, "32 percent of the population is overweight, obese and overfed." The program contains data according to which the average per capita consumption in Romania--that is, also including infants--is currently 3,300 calories which they consider too high. Therefore, in the first step, they now want to lower the daily per capita nutrition to 2,800-3,000 calories and they have also carefully determined its sensible daily distribution--30 percent for breakfast, 50 percent for lunch and 20 percent for inner. The program also adds that this is till above the "average recommended" calorie level because, according to the UN, the adequate daily supply for inhabitants of districts comparable to Romania in climate and development is 2,650 calories, that is, less by 150 calories than the lower threshold value now set in Romania. Starting with this statement, the program urges lowering the proportion of carbohydrates, fats, sugar and sweets in the food intake, which will be easiest to achieve in community eating places, enterprise and factory mess halls. Among others, the program draft also defined



how to classify the workers with respect to their caloric requirements. It recommended four groups: very heavy physical labor (miners, foundry workers, etc.), heavy physical labor (lathe operators, bakers, weavers, etc.), moderate physical labor (upholsterers, telephone operators, etc.) and light physical labor (desk jobs). The program plan also classifies the various age groups, women and men, and the inhabitants of different districts who naturally have different caloryc needs.

In the introduction to the program, there is a detailed discussion of the enormous advancement in public nutrition made in Romania during the years of socialism. For instance, per capita meat consumption was increased by 10 kg between 1950-65 and--according to the report--by 35 kg between 1965-80. The data illustrating the growth in food industry production are very impressive especially if we consider the data on per capita production--disregarding exports. Compared with 1950, by 1980 per capita meat production was increased 5.2-fold, sugar 4.3-fold, and vegetables and fruit 11.7-fold. The document also mentions that, during the same time, there was an extensive increase in the number of city dwellers as well. (In 1948, 3.7 million, in 1980 already 11 million people.) Today, some of the village dwellers commute, others are members of cooperatives, that is, their products are recorded in joint books or their work is being realized in the industrial production value. Nevertheless, the statement of the program is very important: "The consumption by the population (meaning statistically derived consumption) has been improving step by step." This statement is important because it indicates how the public supply situation is evaluated in Romania.

Two years have passed since the publication of the original program draft and the final document is not yet known in its complete form or, at least, the press has not yet published it. Nevertheless, it is evident from its submission to Parliament and the debate that the basic goals remain unchanged, the range of needed actions is also identical; neither did the Parliament change the per capita calory value set 2 years ago. Right now it is time for implementation--to make the food industry products more varied, to improve their quality, and to increase the effectiveness of education and information. Both parts of the tenet, by now officially proclaimed, are very true: there is no bread without work--and conversely--there is no work without bread.

2473

CSO: 2500/488

## PROGRAM FOR SCIENTIFIC FEEDING OF POPULATION

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 53, 2 Jul 84 pp 1-8

[Decision of the Grand National Assembly on Approval of the Program for Scientific Feeding of the Population]

[Text] The Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania, discussing the Program for Scientific Feeding of the Population, worked out on the basis of the indications and under the direct guidance of Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, has found that with the provisions it contains, the program fits harmoniously into the general policy of our party and state, whose supreme goal is to provide for the people's material and spiritual well being and to permanently raise the quality of life and it is intended to contribute to satisfying all society members' requirements for food consumption in a balanced way.

Having the recommendations of science and the customs, traditions and specific nature of the Romanian population's requirements for consumption at its base as well as experience at the world level, and seeking to provide rational diet, at the same time the program establishes the directions in which scientific research, agriculture, the food industry, trade and the public food service must take action for complete fulfillment of their obligations.

Proceeding from the special importance which this program has for determining a scientific diet for the population, the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania decides:

1. The Program for Scientific Feeding of the Population is approved.
2. The Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, the other ministries and central organs with tasks in the area of the production and sale of agricultural food goods for consumption as well as the people's councils must take measures so that all the subordinate units provide for broadening and diversification of the base of agricultural food raw materials and superior utilization of them, intensification of research on the level and structure of diets for the population by geographic zones, categories of age and professions, the creation of new types of food products, enrichment of the range of assortments of semi-prepared and prepared products, increase in production of diet foods and creation of a broad stock of goods and development of a network for the sale

of food goods, insuring that the population's consumption requirements are satisfied in a balanced way.

3. The Council of Ministers is to take measures to implement the program's provisions, seeking that the resources of agricultural food products are obtained fully and seeking diversification and improvement in the quality of products, and sensible distribution of the stock of goods, respecting the program for self-leadership and territorial self-supply.

At the same time the Council of Ministers is to insure the good organization of the commercial and public food service network, structure and appropriate specialization of the sales units, steady delivery and good management of the products and improvement in service to the buyers.

4. The Ministry of Education and Instruction, the Council for Socialist Culture and Education, the component organizations of the Front for Socialist Democracy and Unity, the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania, the Union of Communist Youth, the National Council of Women, the Red Cross Society, the press, radio and television have the duty, through their specific forms and resources, to carry out permanent educational activity in order to explain the principles and rules of a scientific diet, to have all categories of the population know and understand the provisions of the program and to have each citizen form scientific eating habits, an important factor in insuring the people's health and their harmonious physical and mental development.

This decision was adopted by the Grand National Assembly at its 29 June 1984 meeting.

#### The Program for Scientific Feeding of the Population

The supreme goal of the party's policy in the broad process of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and directing Romania toward communism is the continual rise in the workers' material and spiritual well being, and the degree of civilization and quality of life of all the people. Our party and state are taking consistent action for Romania's social-economic development, for increasing the national income and the national wealth, the single source for systematically improving the population's standard of living.

The increase in production forces, powerful development of socialist industry and the other economic branches and rise in agricultural production have brought a larger and larger national income, which in 1983 surpassed what was achieved in 1950 by 16 times. Thus insured were the necessary resources for the continually rising prosperity of the national economy and increase in the population's incomes and consumption. In the same period the workers' real salaries nearly quadrupled, while the peasants' real incomes obtained from working in agriculture rose 4.7 times.

In the 1981-1985 five-year plan the continuation of social-economic development and Romania's move to a new stage--that of an average developed socialist country--are being insured with firm action being taken to carry out the modern scientific-technical revolution in all areas for a new quality of work and life.

In accordance with these goals, on the initiative and under the direct guidance of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Program for Scientific Feeding of the Population was worked out; it places man in the center of attention, with his needs, satisfying the food consumption requirements of all members of society in a balanced way under conditions of avoiding any form of waste.

Taking into consideration the recommendations of science and the customs, traditions and specific nature of our people's consumption as well as world experience, the program includes the basic requirements for a balanced diet and the directions in which scientific research, agriculture, the food industry, trade, the public food service and activities to educate the population must go to carry it out.

The program establishes for Romania's citizens what is normal to be consumed in order to prevent diseases caused by improper food consumption and to insure the population's good state of health.

Achieving a scientific diet creates the necessary balance between what man actually consumes and his nutritional and physiological needs, directly influenced by his working and living conditions.

In our state's concept, a scientific diet for the population involves:

Satisfying consumption needs according to physiological requirements determined on scientific bases and in correlation with the possibilities of the economy;

Providing a balanced diet for the country as a whole and territorially according to different categories of the population, both with regard to calories as well as component nutritional substances;

Promoting in production and consumption the agricultural food products which contribute to continual improvement in the structure of the diet and to its modernization, in accordance with scientifically determined nutritional requirements and working and living conditions in the current stage;

The participation of each county, municipality, city and each commune in providing the resources of agricultural food products needed to satisfy the population's consumption needs in its territorial area;

Sensible distribution of the stock of agricultural food goods by territory, under conditions of implementing the principles of self-leadership and self-supply in close correlation with the resources, specific nature, customs and traditions of consumption and with the number of the population and structure by age, sex and occupation in each county and location;

Firmly promoting socialist ethics and equity as well as avoiding any kind of risk.

The Program for Scientific Feeding of the Population is a means for properly substantiating the evolution, level and structure of food consumption, the plans



for development and diversification of the production of consumer goods, distribution of the stock of agricultural food goods on the territory and self-leadership and self-supply in each of Romania's counties and locations. At the same time, the program provides for guiding the activity in the public food service, in the worker, school and student canteens, in the consumer collectives in the day care centers, nurseries and kindergartens, in health units as well as guiding the work which the medical cadres are doing to continually raise all the people's state of health.

The big achievements obtained by our people in the years of building socialism as well as the firm implementation of the decisions of the 12th party congress and provisions of the single national plan for Romania's social-economic development for the 1981-1985 period, the directive program for raising the standard of living and continually raising the quality of life in the current five-year plan and the program for self-leadership and territorial self-supply and on providing the population with animal and vegetable agricultural products in the 1982-1985 period are the guarantee for implementing the provisions of the Program for Scientific Feeding of the Population. The new agrarian revolution, the powerful future growth of agricultural production, together with the development, modernization and diversification of the production of the food industry, are creating conditions for continually improving the supply of the population with agricultural food products in a varied and quality structure corresponding to the requirements for a scientific diet.

Implementation of the Program for Scientific Feeding of the Population, at the same time, depends directly on each of Romania's citizens, who must be aware that achieving a balanced consumption is for his own good, for maintaining his health and power to work and for the harmonious physical and mental development of all our people.

#### Increasing and Improving the Structure of the Population's Food Consumption in the Years of Building Socialism

As a result of the party's policy to permanently increase Romania's production forces, develop and modernize agriculture and the food industry and continually raise the workers' buying power, important achievements have also been obtained in the area of the population's food consumption in the years of building socialism.

The increase in the degree of mechanization and chemification and number of areas set up for irrigation, the introduction and extending of advanced agro-zootechnical methods, the overall measures applied for better use of the stock of land, resources supplied and the labor force led to an increase of 3.7 times in total agricultural production in 1983 compared with 1950.

The development and modernization of the food industry and the growth, diversification and rise in the quality of production have increased this branch's contribution to better satisfying the population's consumption requirements. In 1983, compared with 1950, total production of the food industry was 6.3 times greater for slaughtered meat, 26.6 times for meat preparations, 22.2 times for fish, 15.7 times for milk, 20.7 times for butter, 10.4 times for edible oil, 6.4 times for sugar and 13.4 times for canned vegetables and fruit.

In correlation with the rise in agricultural food production and the rise in the population's real incomes, the sale of food goods by socialist trade and the public food service rose 16.3 times in the same period.

On the basis of these accomplishments, the population's consumption of agricultural food products improved substantially, recording large increases from one stage to another.

More than 3.7 times more meat and meat products and fish and fish products were consumed per capita in 1983, compared with 1950, 4.9 times more eggs, 3.4 times more fats, 2.6 times more vegetables and vegetable products, 3.3 times more fruit and fruit products, 1.2 times more grain products and 1.6 times more potatoes. These large increases were achieved under conditions of the increase in urban population--from 3.7 million residents in 1948 to 11 million in 1983.

The greatest increases in per capita consumption were obtained in accordance with the broad development of the national economy, particularly after 1965. For meat and meat products and fish and fish products, consumption rose by 35 kg in 1983 compared with 1965, while an increase of around 12 kg per capita was achieved during the previous period of 1950-1965; for milk and milk products it was 50 liters, with the entire increase being achieved after 1965; for eggs, the increase was from 56 to 175 eggs; for vegetables and vegetable products, it went from 10 to 96 kg; for fruit and fruit products, it went from 6 to 42 kg.

Important changes in quality took place in the structure of consumption, changes basically characterized by greater participation of products with superior nutritional qualities in the population's diets--meat, fish, milk, eggs, vegetables, fruit--and by a gradual reduction in the consumption of grain products.

A total consumption of calories and proteins comparable with that achieved in the economically developed countries is being insured in Romania. Yet, compared with the physiological nutrition requirements, the proportion of calories and proteins from grains in consumption is still high--around 45 percent.

In order to increase and continue improving the population's food consumption in Romania, what must be provided are the development, modernization and diversification of agricultural food production, together with constant promotion of a scientific diet among all Romania's citizens

#### The Requirements for Scientific Feeding of the Population

For the purpose of man's harmonious physical and intellectual development and for preserving his health and ability to work, a primary goal is generalization of a scientific diet, elimination of some of the lack of agreement existing between what is necessary and what actually is being consumed.

A scientific diet is based on the knowledge of man's various nutrition requirements--determined by age, sex, physiological status, specific nature of activity and intensity of physical effort put forth--and the properties which various agricultural food products have in satisfying these requirements. Overestimating or underestimating the nutrition and physiological requirements leads to food imbalances, to excesses or deficiencies with unfavorable consequences for

man's state of health, influenced by the caloric value of the products consumed as well as by the ratio between their content in proteins, lipids, glucides, mineral elements and vitamins.

Science and medical practice are furnishing innumerable data on the noxious effects of exaggerated and uncontrolled consumption of fats, sugar products, grain derivatives and so forth, the cause of obesity, cardiovascular diseases, diabetes and other illnesses. Tobacco consumption and excessive alcoholic beverage amplify the harmful consequences of improper diet.

It is in the interest of each person to know what, how, how much and when he should consume something in order to be healthy, vigorous, creative, capable of working and of avoiding premature aging. One criterion for orientation in this regard is to maintain body weight within normal limits.

In particular, the following have been kept in mind in scientifically determining the population's nutrition requirements:

The specific needs of children, youth and the elderly;

The nature and intensity of the adult population's physical effort in various production processes, in varied household, cultural-sports and recreational activities;

The tendency to reduce physical effort, together with increasing mental stress, under the conditions of modern life, the mechanization and automation of production processes, urbanization of locations, development of joint transport and so forth;

The additional food requirements for women during pregnancy;

The need for preventing some diseases caused by food imbalances.

A diet which conforms to the requirements of science provides for the population's consumption a balanced structure and sensible participation of the nutrition substances which permit recovering man's expenditures of energy and preservation of a good state of health. So, according to the calculation for substantiating the program, protein should represent 13-16 percent of total calories, with the highest percentages being forecast for children and adolescents, with the main spot belonging to protein of animal origin (30 percent for adults, 60 percent for adolescents, more than 85 percent for children). Under these conditions, the needs for protein are satisfied completely for the harmonious growth of children and young people, for repairing the adult organism following physiological use and keeping resistance to illness.

Of the total quantity of calories, lipids should represent 25-30 percent, with the highest percentages being provided for children. With regard to structure, the need for lipids differs according to age. For the adult population, around half the total should be of vegetable origin, while products of animal origin for the adolescents and children (milk, milk products, butter) reach up to 85 percent of the total. In this way the energy needs of the organs and for preventing chronic degenerative diseases are covered.



Glucides, representing 50-60 percent of the total number of calories, are needed in large amounts for all groups of the population for covering energy needs. At the same time, this percentage reflects some specific food habits of Romania's population, particularly with regard to grain derivatives.

In accordance with the requirements for a scientific diet, the necessary mineral elements and vitamins are to be provided in appropriate proportions for all categories of the population.

Proceeding from the specific conditions and structure of the population, specialists in the area of nutrition have established that from the physiological viewpoint the average daily consumption needed per capita is 2,700-2,800 calories, comparable with the levels determined for the population in the European countries.

The average daily consumption achieved in Romania is around 3,300 calories per capita, this being a high level. Taking into account the requirements for a diet which insures a good state of health as well as the fact that a change in customs and traditions of consumption requires times, improving the structure of the population's eating and obtaining an average daily consumption of around 2,800-3,000 calories per capita by 1985 is being taken into consideration. This level, corresponding to a scientifically substantiated structure of eating, is confirmed by a number of data and research on the diets of various peoples carried out by international institutes. Thus, according to the calculations made by the specialty organs of the United Nations for all countries of the world, average calorie consumption recommended for the European countries, with climate conditions and conditions of the structure of the diet close to those of Romania, oscillates around 2,650 calories and even less. Also, numerous specialty studies and experimental data furnished by research institutes show that a reduction of fats in a certain ratio, a replacement of the percentage of proteins and generally a limit on the number of calories in daily diet, particularly for the elderly, contribute to preserving the state of health in optimum conditions, to eliminating degenerative diseases and even to substantially prolonging the average length of life.

In relationship to the requirements for a scientific diet and Romania's specific conditions, the program provides for initiating some measures to gradually improve the structure of food consumption, primarily by increasing the percentage of vegetables and fruit with a high content of vitamins and mineral elements as well as of animal protein. At the same time, it is objectively necessary at the same time to reduce the participation of grain derivatives, fats, sugar and sugar products in food consumption.

In the following stages, action is to be taken to insure feeding the population in accordance with the requirements of science, with direct effects on the state of health, ability to work, and our people's length of life.

### III. Directing Lines for Achieving a Scientific Diet for the Population

For the purpose of achieving a scientific diet, action on a broad front is to be taken within the goals of this program, with participation of the producers of agricultural food goods for consumption, scientists, cadres in the health area, workers in socialist trade, in the public food service and units of the consumer collective.



1. Providing a diet in the optimum, scientifically determined structure is based on the appropriate development of the production of agricultural food goods for consumption. The single national plan for social-economic development for the 1981-1985 period, the plan for development of agriculture and the food industry for the 1981-1985 period, the program for self-leadership and territorial self-supply for providing the population with agricultural food products, industrial products and providing of services in the 1983-1985 period, the program for improving the technical and quality level of products in the 1983-1985 period up to 1990 and the special programs established mainly have in mind:

Broadening and diversifying the base of agricultural food raw materials and superior use of them, introducing into production the new agricultural food raw materials--protein concentrates, biosynthetic products, concentrates of natural and synthetic vitamins, fruit from spontaneous flora; raising the degree of processing of raw materials under conditions of raising the food value of the products;

Enriching the range of varieties of semiprepared products and ready-to-eat products with superior qualities and in varying grams, for easing the work of preparing meals in the house and promoting nutritionally balanced products in consumption;

Increasing the production of diet foods and diversifying their variety structure to correspond to recommended diets for various ages and diseases;

Extending the production and promotion of new varieties on the base of milk, fruit, vegetables, grains, meat for children's diets;

Developing the production of natural additives, taste, aroma and color which would replace the synthetic ones and provide the food products with improved taste quality;

Increasing the degree of stability of food products by introducing modern methods of canning, transport and storage, extending and improving the refrigeration chain from producer to consumer;

Developing services in the food industry units for the processing and industrialization of agricultural resources of the producers (oleaginous seeds, sugar beets, meat, grains and so forth);

Creating small-capacity units placed in production zones or near sales locations for supplying the population with fresh products to be consumed on a daily basis--from milk, meat, grains, vegetables, fruit;

Extending prepackaging, improving the quality of packaging, for canning, protection and presentation of food products under conditions of maximum hygiene, insuring that their qualitative and nutrition qualities are preserved as well as better information on their contents and methods of usage for consumers.

In accordance with the requirements for improving the population's food consumption, action is being taken in this five-year plan to increase the production potential of agriculture, to develop and continue modernizing the food industry, seeking that large increases be achieved for all basic products.

With a view to increasing meat and meat products production, special attention is to be given to increasing the animals' average weight, together with extending the raising of hogs with a lower fat content. In accordance with the provisions of the single program for raising agricultural production on the personal plots of the members of the agricultural production cooperatives and on the farms of private producers, there is to be intensified participation of the population's farms in forming meat resources from all breeds. Production is to be developed of meat preparations, fresh and seasonal, preparations of prepared and semiprepared meat products in various mixtures, with vegetables, macaroni products and other grain derivatives at the same time providing a sensible proportion of proteins and fats.

The production of milk and milk derivatives will increase on the basis of increasing the number of animals and their production.

Superior processing of raw materials is to be provided, placing at the population's disposal higher quantities of milk, cheeses and fresh milk products. To be introduced into manufacture and trade are new varieties of milk with various fat contents, prepared milk products mixed with fruit, creams, puddings and ice creams.

The production of fish and fish products is to record large increases, with special attention being given to native species. By applying intensive technologies the utilization of all the natural resources of interior waters, the populating of main canals in the national irrigation system, increasing the stock of fish in the Danube Delta, developing and intensifying ocean fishing and utilizing native fish, particularly fresh, are to be insured.

The production of oils and edible fats will completely satisfy the scientifically determined requirements of consumption, together with improving the ratio between vegetable and animal fats. New varieties of higher refined and preservable margarine and edible oils are to be created.

The production of sugar and sugar products is to develop in correlation with scientifically substantiated consumption needs. Added to sugar beets will be other sweet substances--glucose, dextrose, fructose, biomalt--obtained from grains and potatoes. The quality of sugar products is to improve by introducing new varieties with a balanced content of glucides, lipids, proteins and vitamins, providing a specific taste.

The production of bread and other grain products is to take on a size corresponding to the requirements for improving the structure of the population's consumption, seeking to continue diversifying the bread products, to increase the percentages of types from intermediate flour, increase the production of macaroni products, biscuits and bakery products as well as the production of new varieties of bread products in smaller weights, with longer freshness and of proteinized, hypoglucidic and vitaminized products.

The production of vegetables, leguminous plants and vegetable products will increase substantially for all crops, providing the population's needs and fresh consumption for as long a period as possible during the year. There will be diversification in the variety of canned vegetables, and they are to be kept

fresh in silos in the ground and in warehouses as well as by canning them by various economical forms in order to preserve the vegetables' initial food value to the greatest possible extent.

The production of fruit and fruit products is to be extended and diversified, together with utilizing them fresh and their industrialization as jams, preserves, purees, juices and beverages. Special attention is to be given to improving the conditions of harvesting, handling, preservation and presentation of vegetables and fruit throughout the circuit from production to consumption.

2. A special role in guiding the population toward scientific feeding belongs to socialist trade, which will take action for the following:

Providing a stock of goods in a range of agricultural food products which would permit achieving a scientifically determined nutrition balance for the entire population. In setting the size of the volume and structure of the stock of goods, the structure of the population by occupations is to be taken into consideration plus the seasonal nature of consumption and purchases as well as eating habits in various zones of Romania, correlated with the requirements for self-leadership and territorial self-supply;

Developing the trade network with food goods according to the need for achieving a balanced consumption, insuring the appropriate make-up and specialization of the sales units as well as conditions for preserving product quality. Regular actions will be carried out to promote new diet products in consumption and products for children and other categories of consumers, with the most complete and varied information to be placed at the buyers' disposal regarding their characteristics;

Efficiently adapting the sales network to the requirements for extending the commercialization of agricultural food goods ~~in a~~ fresh condition, prepackaged and in various portions, for rapid and efficient circulation of the products and for improving service to the purchasers.

3. In implementing the provisions of this program, public food service and consumer collective units have important tasks and they must take action for the following:

Providing food service on the job under better conditions, with an appropriate network of canteens, mini-canteens and refreshment rooms developing;

Extending daily serving of warm meals to preschoolers, school pupils and students in the cafeterias in the educational units and units in the network of public food service;

Improving the recipes for existing food preparations and working out new recipes, with respect for the requirements for a scientific diet, insuring higher consumption of vegetables and fruit, macaroni products, rice, milk products, eggs and fish;

Establishing different meals according to the type of public food service and consumer collective unit, to the category of population, in proportion to age

and physical effort as well as according to the season. Food preparations from the traditional Romanian cuisine and those specific to various zones of Romania are to be promoted;

Placing new public food service units near the enterprises, on industrial platforms, on crowded highways, in the markets as well as intensively using the production and serving areas;

Utilizing varied and efficient means for informing consumers on the nutrition structure of the food preparations made and offered in the public food service units and consumer collective units.

4. The dynamic, continually changing nature of the population's needs for food consumption requires corresponding development of scientific research in the following directions:

a) In the area of nutrition:

Intensification of research on the level and structure of the population's diets by geographic zones, categories of age and professions in order to identify various food deviations and to substantiate measures for favorably influencing the population's consumption behavior. Interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary research will be done through continual development of collaboration between the units of scientific medical research, in agriculture, food industry and trade;

Determining the status of nutrition by various groups of the population, together with improving the methods and techniques for early discovery of nutrition disturbances;

Improving the methods for checking on the state of hygiene of food products with a view to preventing diseases caused by using improper foods;

Scientifically determining the nutritional value of food products obtained from new sources of raw materials or by applying new technologies;

Permanently adapting the requirements for scientifically determined diets to the demographic and sociovocational changes in Romania, closely connected with agricultural food resources;

Working out new, more efficient methods of health education and of favorably influencing the population's eating behavior;

b) In the area of agriculture:

Making research more thorough and amplifying it in genetics, physiology and biochemistry for creating new varieties of grain hybrids, technical plants, vegetables and fruit with improved technological qualities and with a high content of nutritional substances;

Orienting research in the area of animal-raising in order to obtain breeds which achieve superior production with a high degree of efficiency;



Reducing the pollutant effects of extending the chemification of agriculture on the quality of the agricultural food products;

c) In the area of the food industry:

Creating new types of products with a balanced content of proteins, lipids, glucides, vitamins and mineral elements which provide for better satisfying the population's diversified requirements, as well as reducing the effort to prepare foods for consumption. Special attention is to be given to obtaining new products for the diets of different ages of children;

Improving techniques for superior utilization of nutritional substances from raw materials as well as for combining and canning them;

Creating techniques for producing foods from new sources of raw materials from Romania's flora and fauna as well as for processing some new agricultural food resources;

Carrying out new technological procedures which would insure avoiding chemical and biological pollution in accordance with the requirements for food hygiene;

Improving and creating industrial equipment adapted to modern manufacturing techniques;

Working out modern methods for follow-up, checks and decision-making in the production process, with favorable effects on the qualitative and nutritional parameters of the products;

Improving the system of nutritional and quality indicators of food products;

d) In the area of public food service and consumer collectives:

Designing new food preparations in accordance with the requirements for a scientific diet, insuring an appropriate percentage of vegetables, milk products, eggs, fish, macaroni products, rice and fruit;

Improving preparation techniques for food products which would permit keeping the nutritional value of the raw materials;

Building new equipment and working utensils adapted to the specific nature of public food service activity for the purpose of improving the quality of food preparations and of increasing labor productivity in laboratories and kitchen.

5. In order to know and have unified application of the requirements for scientific diets for the population, a basic condition of the professional training of worker personnel in all sectors of activity who have tasks in this area.

In the secondary schools and agricultural vocational schools, in the schools for the food industry, trade and public food service as well as the health secondary schools, the curricula are to provide for gaining basic knowledge on the principles of a scientific diet for the population; nutritional value of foods and ways to keep it; techniques for production, processing, canning,

storage, transport and commercialization which provide for preserving the nutritional and hygiene qualities of the agricultural food products; preventing chemical and biological contamination of the foods.

In higher agronomic education and instruction for the food industry and trades as well as in the faculties and specializations of biology, biochemistry, chemistry, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy and physical education, the curricula will be improved to correspond to the need for obtaining knowledge on the scientific feeding of the population and food hygiene. The future professors, educators and instructors will be trained to promote the principles and rules for a balanced, scientifically substantiated diet among preschoolers, pupils and students.

The courses on scientific feeding of the population will also be included and extended in the programs for advanced vocational training of worker personnel in agriculture, the food industry, trade, public food service and in the health protection network.

#### IV. Educating the Population to Have a Scientific Diet

Special attention is to be given to having all categories of the population know and master the provisions of the present program, having each citizen form scientific eating habits, an important factor for insuring the people's health.

For this purpose:

1. The component organizations of the Front for Socialist Democracy and Unity will carry out constant educational activity to explain the principles and rules of scientific eating to the masses, to mobilize them to carry out self-leadership and territorial self-supply, to increase each citizen's responsibility for achieving his and his family's eating, to manage products wisely and to eliminate any kind of waste.

The General Union of Trade Unions of Romania, the territorial councils and the trade union committees in the enterprises and institutes will regularly organize discussions on the subject of scientific eating in trade union groups and worker dormitories, symposiums, colloquiums, lectures and other educational activities in the worker clubs and cultural-scientific universities and in the enterprises. The trade union press, visual propaganda and radio-relay stations, amateur artistic formations will be guided to support and popularize the requirements for scientific eating and to combat tendencies to overeat and improper consumption.

The Central committee of the Union of Communist Youth, the Council of the Union of Associations of Communist Students of Romania and the National Council of the Pioneer Organization, the children's and youth organs and organizations will carry out permanent activity to explain the principles of scientific eating and to form correct behavior in food consumption among the youth. These problems will also be discussed in the activities organized by the young girls' councils for the purpose of obtaining solid knowledge on the structure and content of scientific eating, food hygiene and the way to prepare foods.

The National Council of Women, the women's committees and commissions will organize political-educational actions in the "Femina" clubs, in lectureships for women, circles of socialist education, clubs in the enterprises, culture houses and clubs on subjects regarding scientific eating, the role of women in promoting it among all categories of the population, primarily in one's own family.

In order to include broad masses of women in educational activities on eating scientifically, the women's committees together with the trade unions, youth organizations and organizations of socialist democracy and unity will organize permanent circles called "Woman and the Home" in each enterprise and institute as well as in neighborhoods, streets, apartment buildings and groups of houses.

The county, municipal, city and commune women's committees will organize exchanges of experience, practical demonstrations, culinary exhibits, visits to the best homemakers, meetings among women and specialists in the area of health and agriculture. Also, propaganda materials will be published and there will be permanent columns in the women's publications on the problems of eating scientifically.

The Red Cross Society, along with other mass and public organizations, will participate in spreading knowledge on eating scientifically through the organization of courses to initiate and publish popularization materials.

2. The Ministry of Education and Instruction, the children's, youth and women's organizations will take measures to educate preschoolers, pupils and students in the spirit of the principles of eating scientifically, to have them gain solid knowledge on the nutritional value of various foods, rules of food hygiene, the advantages of balanced consumption for preserving health and for harmonious development of the body. Programs and manuals touching on these problems will be reviewed in all the educational cycles. Activities to educate the youth in the spirit of eating scientifically will be extended in the time devoted to practice in production as well as in the circles and other extra-curricular actions organized.

Discussions will be organized in the lectureships with parents and parent committees in the kindergartens and schools, with the participation of specialists, on food consumption, the child's work and rest, application of the requirements for eating a balanced diet according to age and the specific requirements of the children and young people.

3. The Council for Socialist Culture and Education will provide the publishing and popularization of literary-artistic works, will show slides, documentary and scientific films on the role of balanced eating in preserving and promoting health.

Cultural settlements, culture houses, clubs, the cultural-scientific universities will organize presentations, discussions, symposiums, initiation courses and other demonstrations to popularize the scientific requirements of food consumption, to contribute to having all residents of the cities and villages understand their importance and respect for them and contribute to combatting the negative effects of improper consumption. Toward the same goal, activity of

the scientific brigades will be intensified by organizing meetings with citizens in the cities and villages, while the public libraries will stimulate lecturing on books on food education and will organize exhibits, surveys and presentations of books on this subject.

4. The press, radio and television will draw up their own plans of long-range action to aid in the education on eating scientifically, popularizing the provisions of this program in articles and broadcasts. Special columns, articles, discussions, roundtables, conversations with physicians and other specialists on eating correctly, based on scientific criteria, will be carried out.

The publications and broadcasts addressed to women, young people and teaching cadres will include the subjects intended to aid family and school in promoting a balanced behavior and self-control in eating. Recipes will be popularized aimed at diversifying eating and achieving a balance between various categories of foods both in family consumption as well as in the canteens and public food service units.

All the activity of educating the population on eating scientifically will take place under the guidance and with the specialized aid of the Ministry of Health.

In order to implement the provisions of the Program for Scientific Feeding of the Population, the Council of Ministers must insure the participation of all the producers of goods of agricultural food for consumption, of the scientists, cadres in the area of health and education as well as of each county, municipality and city and each commune to increasing and diversifying agricultural and food production with a view to improving what is supplied to the population.

The ministries and other central organs are required to take decisive action so that the units under them completely fulfill the program provisions to correspond to their type of activity.

The executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils will take all measures necessary in order to increase the contribution of each territorial unit in obtaining the resources of agricultural food products, a basic condition in fulfilling the provisions of the Program for Scientific Feeding of the Population.

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## CHANGING SOCIAL STRUCTURE ANALYZED

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jun 84 p 8

[Article by Boris Majer: "Strata and Their Roots"]

[Text] It is necessary for us to pursue a deeper Marxist analysis which would enable us to become better acquainted with the basic conflict between etatism and self-management in our society and which would give us an accurate notion of the structure and power of the social strata which are arising today.

We need a deeper, more universal, and especially more concrete Marxist analysis of the relations and circumstances which have arisen in the post-war period and, in addition, an analysis of the class structure and social relations in our society which have developed in recent years.

Immediately after the liberation we did have such an analysis. At that time it was easier to arrive at one, because it was possible to rely directly on a Marxist analysis of capitalistic society and on the experience of the October Revolution and our War of National Liberation. At that time both sociopolitical relations and conditions were much more recognizable than today.

We had a broad revolutionary and conscious mass of members in our national liberation movement who had gone through the school of revolution; we had an experienced revolutionary, vanguard Communist Party and quite a broad base of farmers who participated in the War of National Liberation and supported it, and at the same time a working class which had just been released from the chains of classic class enslavement, and a deposed bourgeoisie, which had lost its political and economic power even though it still retained some privileges resulting from its earlier position.

### Social Changes

Today's structure of class and political forces is basically different, which we are studying and considering insufficiently in practical politics, in our thinking, and in our documents.

We have a new working class which is essentially different from any of the classic classes encountered in history up to today. Furthermore, it is not a class of hired workers, and it is much more stratified than we think. Part of that class makes up the mass basis of self-management. Another part is, objectively, because of the underdevelopment of self-management and, subjectively, because of its lag in awareness, still in the position of hired workers.

All of this inevitably brings forth various contradictions within the working class itself, as well as various intellectual and ideological aspirations which usually do not appear directly within the working class, although to some extent they do appear there, because of the greater level of education than existed in the past. Part of the intelligentsia offers the working class either a government-ownership or a state-socialistic solution, but in any case a different one, which corresponds above all to the illusions of the working class and the working strata in the highly developed capitalist states.

Momentous changes have arisen and are arising within the mass of farmers. Some took on the socialistic method of economic operation, entering into collectives, etc. But the majority of the agricultural population were still private owners. Here is where the heterogeneous processes of stratification arise. A smaller part of this population is becoming more significant thanks to its economic power. It is acquiring great possibilities for enriching itself on the basis of differentiated incomes which enable it to usurp a rather large percentage of the surplus labor, for example, speculation with corn, resale of agricultural products, etc. We also still have government ownership of the means of production. Therein lies the main conflict in our society.

#### One-Sided Analysis

There are also managerial structures, especially those maintaining contacts with international partners, one part of which is not small and has received very significant economic privileges and accumulated a large fortune abroad as well as in this country with the help of various arrangements, through bribing, which in the capitalistic world is something completely customary and, in contacts with us, is used abundantly to pressure their partners among us; and this is richly profitable.

We also have a layer of people who, taken on the whole, are not interested in the development of self-management.

Both structures, whether state-bureaucratic, technocratic-managerial, usurious, or part of the agricultural population, create the objective interest of those strata and do so by developing state-ownership and group-ownership relations or by maintaining a monopoly by those strata over the destiny and distribution of a newly created surplus value.

There are few such Marxist, class analyses, although we have certain sociological and other kinds of analyses which however, it seems to me, are too one-sided and do not take hold of the dialectics of historical processes. Because of that, they only represent the situation and relations statistically and this results in one-sided, pessimistic, and defeatist conclusions.

#### Discovering the Causes

Therefore the intervention of Marxist theory and Marxist methods is necessary. Such a deepening of Marxist analysis would enable us to get to know better the basic conflicts between etatism and self-management in our society, and bureaucratic, technocratic and other aspirations, and would give us the right idea about the structure and power of the social strata which today are arising and above class relations which are objectively working behind our backs. Since we do not have appropriate research, we do not know their scope and power, and so we overrate them, and then the next time we underrate them. Without a Marxist analysis we will struggle hard with various ideas and ideological aspirations and theories which appear today on a large scale in all fields: culture, science, journalism, art, etc.

On one side we have various ultra-leftwing aspirations, and we are accomplishing nothing great if we only identify them. We must look for the social roots of these phenomena, and if we know that we have discovered them, then supported by evidence, we will be able very convincingly to mobilize those young people who represent those positions, since we will show them a realistic perspective. We will be able to mobilize them against the actual economic, political and therefore ideological sources of those phenomena.

This is likewise true for rightist aspirations. If ultra-leftwing aspirations arise from that part of the youth which does not feel secure in society, sees no future, is left without a job in the country and looks for work abroad, etc., rightist aspirations arise exactly on the basis of quite powerful economic privileges and economic forces which remain in the hands of those who are not interested in socialism, in self-management.

In the same way, when we speak of pluralism of interests, we make a very small distinction between self-management and nonself-management interests. The interests of those [above] strata are nonself-management oriented and nonsocialistic. Pluralism of interests, as Kardelj conceived of it, does not contain antiself-management and antisocialistic interests. Here we have not made this difference sufficiently clear, and about that important question we allow rather great confusion.

A Marxist analysis enables us to free ourselves from exaggerated subjectivism in evaluating concrete social circumstances and relations; without it we cannot effectively and successfully confront these phenomena, whether at the base or at the superstructure, in the flow of ideas and ideological conflicts.

**'ORAO' FIGHTER PLANE, ARMY ECONOMY MEASURES DISCUSSED**

Luxembourg LUXEMBURGER WORT in German 16 Jul 84 p 16

[Article by Wolfgang Broer: "Military Struggling with Arms"]

[Text] Efforts by the Yugoslav People's Army to become as independent as possible of weapon deliveries from foreign countries are continuing in spite of the economic crisis. To be sure, the results are in part not very convincing, and the difficult economic situation also exacts its toll on the armed forces.

With remarkably little publicity Yugoslavia has now announced that it has begun series production of the "Orao" ("Eagle"), its own combat bomber. The project had been decided on under President Tito and was to represent Romanian-Yugoslav cooperation. In actual fact little came of that. The Romanians decided to install a Soviet engine, the Yugoslavs purchased one from Mirage in France. This necessitated some redesign work on the "Orao" which diluted the original design and decreased performance capability.

Thus, the "Orao" which has now gone into series production has only little in common with the prototype introduced in 1974. From commentaries in the Yugoslav military press it is clear that no one is very satisfied with the inhouse development in its now final form. As stated in the army organ FRONT the "Orao" is "neither new nor equipped with good characteristics." The weight of the weapons that it carries is less than that of comparable combat jets. Guided air-to-air missiles are not included, the air speed is subsonic, the tactical radius is only 400 kilometers.

If one follows the Belgrade Communist Party organ BORBA, a Yugoslav battle tank which was developed in construction work lasting only 3 years is somewhat more successful. It is produced according to Soviet license plans (Model T-72). The individual parts, however, are manufactured in 240 Yugoslav enterprises. According to information from Belgrade, fire control is supposed to be comparable to the FRG's Leopard and the American M-1. But Western and neutral military attaches are of the opinion that the electronics in the Yugoslav tank will in fact not be able to keep up with the models mentioned.



In any case the military in Belgrade hope to be able to continue to increase their weapons exports with their tank, primarily to Third World and nonaligned countries. In 1983 Yugoslav weapons manufacturers had increased their exports by 43.5 percent compared with the previous year, as reported to the magazine DANAS by General Matovic.

The efforts, which likewise have lasted for several years, on the part of the Yugoslav military and political leaders to stock up on the very effective antitank missiles of the TOW type in the United States have now apparently failed or at least have been postponed. In addition to U.S. objections based on the transfer of military technology to a communist country it was, however, primarily the cost which prevented the Yugoslavs from purchasing the TOW.

As indirectly announced by the army organ FRONT in an overview which dealt with weapons technology, the army of this nation of many peoples has instead equipped itself with Soviet armor-piercing guided missiles: the so-called "Snapper AT-1" with a range of about 2,300 meters. Technologically they are comparable to the Italian "Moscito" but not by far to the French guided missiles or even the American TOW.

Economizing, primarily in foreign currencies, may have been the reason for this arms decision. For even the armed forces in Yugoslavia must make their contribution to "stabilisacija," economic stabilization, because of the economic crisis. Instead of being in a position to claim 6 percent of the gross national product--as agreed in Tito's day--the army was given only 4.54 percent of the national income in 1982, in the previous year 4.7 percent, and it is only this year that there is evidence in the budget estimate of an increase to 5.2 percent--which to the eye at least once again approaches 6 percent.

Economizing and reduced funds are attracting attention. The navy--as has just been learned--in 1983 returned unused approximately five percent of the vouchers which it had to use when buying fuel and lubricants. In the Zagreb military district, but also in Skoplje and Sarajevo, soldiers have rewelded old cots into pig stalls. For even the army's food supply--in order not to be affected by the general supply difficulties--is to be produced "in a self-sufficient manner." To an increasing extent military units are therefore involved in cattle breeding, agriculture and their own slaughter houses.

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#### ALARM SIGNALS FOR GENERAL MOBILIZATION

[Editorial Report] The 22 June 1984 issue of SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ (Belgrade, No 32, pages 873-874) publishes a 17 May 1984 decree signed by Federal Secretary for National Defense Branko Mamula, explaining and depicting the alarm siren signals for general mobilization, danger from air attack, from the use of "elements of radiological-biological and chemical warfare," from fire, and natural catastrophes.

#### FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS VISIT WITH CARDINAL KUHARIC

[Editorial Report] The 15 July 1984 issue of the Zagreb Catholic biweekly GLAS KONCILA includes on page 3 a picture of Franz Josef Strauss, Bavarian premier and Bundesrat president, meeting with Croatian Cardinal Kuharic in Zagreb on the morning of 23 June. The caption notes that Strauss' son and Bishop Djuro Koksa also attended the 45-minute meeting, "the contents of which were not reported."

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## BRIEFS

SAWPY DIALOGUE, SESELJ CASE--On 24 July Marjan Rozic, president of the SAWPY federal conference, discussed yesterday's SAWP meeting on stabilization at the international press center..... In reference to a dialogue in our country and in SAWPY, he said that there is a place in SAWPY for everyone who is linked in his outlook to socialist self-management. Milan Rakas added that he knows of no case where someone was brought before the court because of what he had said at some SAWP forum. After all, this should not be mixed up with enemies of the system. In reply to the question whether he knew that Bladimir Dedijer intends to bring the case of Dr Vojislav Seselj, that is, the Sarajevo verdict, before the Russell Tribunal, Marjan Rozic replied that this is the first time he had heard about such an initiative by Vladimir Dedijer. [Excerpts] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jul 84 p 3]

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